

Dallaglio on the  
Australian challenge  
Interview in Sport98

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## Brown's Euro-tactics backfire

### Row after attempt to woo Germany

Jan Traynor in Bonn,  
Martin Walker in Brussels  
and Michael White

**B**ITISH attempts to strengthen the country's influence in Europe because of a series of rows be-

tween Gordon Brown and Germany's powerful finance minister, Oskar Lafontaine, it emerged last night.

British initiatives to court the new government in Bonn. Chancellor Schröder added to the impression of disarray yesterday when he pointedly refused to comment on Mr Lafontaine's plans for harmonising some taxes across the European Union and also disavowed a statement from his foreign minister, Joschka Fischer, who 24 hours earlier had called for the creation of a single European state.

The trouble began last Thursday, when Mr Lafontaine arrived in London for talks with senior German, British and French officials, to chart European economic and employment policy.

Mr Schröder has frequently declared his willingness to widen the traditional Franco-German axis in Europe into a triangle with Britain. But Mr Lafontaine was flabbergasted to hear Mr Brown propose three exclusively Anglo-German committees on jobs, budgetary and fiscal policy. The Germans had no notion of the initiative in advance. Mr Lafontaine phoned a cabinet colleague in Bonn to inquire about what was going on. The colleague had no idea either.

"Schröder was very surprised. He had no idea," the German cabinet minister told the Guardian. "We agreed to talk about it later."

Mr Brown's pre-emptive strike failed. A compromise was reached with the formation of one bilateral committee, not three. The Germans were unclear whether the new committee would be meshed with another Anglo-German body set up by Mr Blair and Mr Schröder which met on Sunday in London for the first time.

Mr Lafontaine is also contemptuous of Mr Blair's Third Way and his priority is the relationship with France. "Brown is frightened that Britain will be isolated once the single currency starts. That's why he's keen on the committees with us," said a senior German source. "But it's also the rivalry with Blair. Brown wants his own committee with us."

To make matters worse, said another German official, Mr Brown then lodged "a petulant British complaint" about Mr Lafontaine's enthusiasm for harmonising tax structures across Europe. Mr Brown's repeated threats to veto plans for tax co-ordination — which opponents have warned would mean big rises for British taxpayers — have upset the French as well as the Germans. "Every time Britain uses that word 'veto', we are reminded of Madame Thatcher or Monsieur Major, and we had hoped that Britain under New Labour was beyond that," one well-placed French official said privately yesterday. "This puts at risk all the credibility Blair has established in Europe."

But talk of a rift between 10 and 11 Downing Street was categorically dismissed as "completely absurd" by Treasury officials last night. "There are no divisions here. It may be there are some in Germany and people are winding things up. But this is German politics, nothing to do with the UK," said one insider.

## Fresh blitz on corrupt police

Duncan Campbell  
Crime Correspondent

**T**HE Metropolitan police are to carry out "integrity tests" on officers, which involve leaving marked banknotes in stations. They may also use undercover black officers to test whether suspect colleagues are racist.

The moves are part of a strategy to root out corruption and racism in the Met. It emerged yesterday that 20 officers or former officers have been charged and around 50 suspended as part of the investigation.

The new strategy, described by a senior source at Scotland Yard as "the most comprehensive anti-corruption strategy of any police force in the world", will begin next month. Last night, Police Federation officials expressed concerns about "fishing expeditions" and a "Big Brother situation".

The "integrity tests" will be aimed mainly at suspect officers or squads but they will also be used randomly.

Tactics will include marked banknotes in stations or at squad headquarters where there has been a question mark about the proceeds of robberies. A number of criminals have claimed they were charged with stealing less than they were in possession of when arrested.

Hidden video cameras will record how officers under suspicion respond to temptation. The aim is to secure hard evidence against officers believed to be dishonest.

The strategy will also see how officers behave on racism issues — undercover black officers could be used to see how officers respond.

"Too often the police have waited for bad news to emerge," said the source, explaining the proactive approach. The aim is to avoid the pattern of a flurry of anti-corruption activity after wrongdoing has been exposed followed by years of "drift", as is believed to have happened within the Met in the late eighties and early nineties.

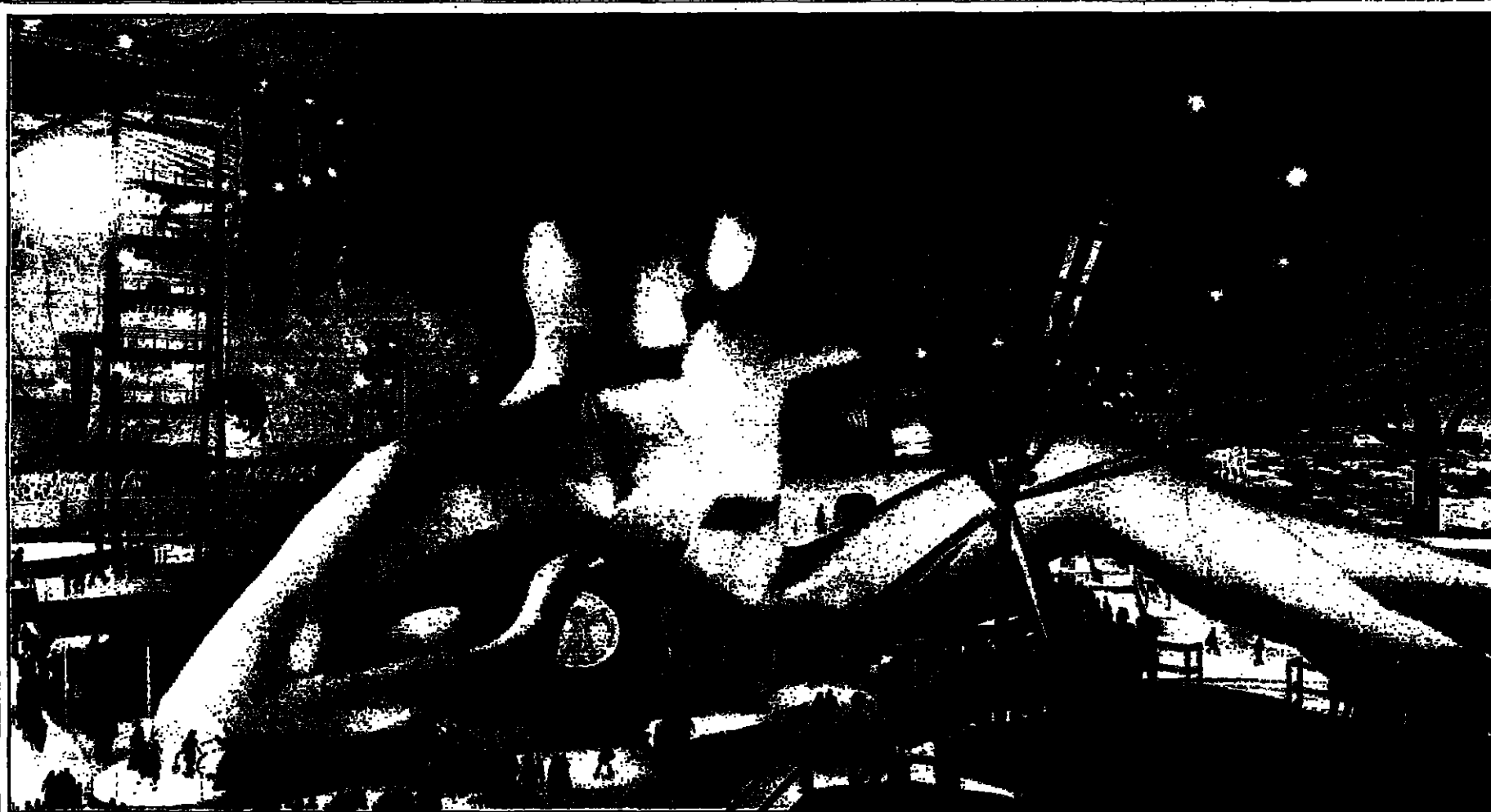
It is intended that officers will never be sure whether a corrupt offer is from a real criminal or an undercover officer from the Complaints Investigation Bureau.

Glen Smyth, chairman of the Police Federation's Metropolitan branch, said: "We have supported the commissioner on his fight against racism and corruption. If it is intelligence-led targeting of suspect individuals, we can live with that." But he warned: "We don't want to get into a Big Brother situation."

Fred Broughton, Federation chairman, said: "Police morale is at its lowest ebb. The setting of traps places every officer under suspicion and exposes them to temptation." He added: "Corruption must be exposed and eradicated from the service but there is a world of difference between setting traps where there is suspicion and embarking on a fishing expedition."

The Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, Sir Paul Condon, has identified racism and corruption as the two key challenges facing the force. He has indicated he would like to have a permanent anti-corruption strategy in place when he leaves Scotland Yard, likely to be in 2000.

There has also been a drive within the Met to reduce sick leave. The latest figures suggest that in the first half of this financial year, the number of days taken off for sickness fell by 17.3 per cent, the equivalent of having 400 extra officers at work. This has been accomplished by allowing officers to have private medical treatment and physiotherapy and also by making it clear that promotion could depend on sick leave taken.



A computer-generated image of the figures, a man and woman, that will dominate the Millennium Dome instead of controversial previous ideas of a baby and then an androgynous figure

### Dome optimism dented by delays in building Underground rail link

Dan Gilester  
and Nicholas Watt

**I**t was, we were told, "on time... on budget... on target". With 400 days to go before its opening night, some of the secrets of the Millennium Dome were finally revealed yesterday. But as details were released, the project was dealt a blow when a committee of MPs was told that Underground trains may not start running from central London to the Dome until 11 days before the exhibition opens.

London Transport chiefs blamed a series of crises on the Jubilee Line extension for the latest delay, which means the final section of the line will not open until "late autumn" next year. Gerald Kaufman, the chairman of the Commons culture committee which grilled the chief executive of London Transport yesterday, said this meant that the line would not be open until December 21.

Donna Tancidite admitted that it was difficult to make predictions because of a dispute by electricians on the line.

With Dome details revealed, one of the biggest

#### Millennium money

**O** The Body Zone exhibition is expected to attract 1.5 million visitors.

**O** The Commission of the European Communities has agreed to contribute £10 million to the Dome.

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#### Progress has been steady and well managed

The Body Zone is to be sponsored by Boots the Chemist, one of a series of sponsorship deals involving high street and blue chip names which organisers claim bring the total sponsorship raised to £180 million — twice the amount ever raised before by a sponsorship funded event in the UK.

Other sponsors announced by organisers yesterday include Marks & Spencer, putting £12 million into the National Identity Zone; BT, which has put the same amount into the Communicate Zone; and McDonald's which has pledged £12 million to a special project, Our Town Story, billed as a Domesday Book for the 21st century. Other partners, who have each pledged £6 million, include the electronics giant GEC, airports operator BAA, British Airways and British Aerospace.

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Bahrain B 0.50	Brazil B 0.50	Madagascar M 0.50	Slovakia S 0.50
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#### UK news

A radical blueprint for social change across every area of government to address ill-health and shortened lives is announced. Page 3

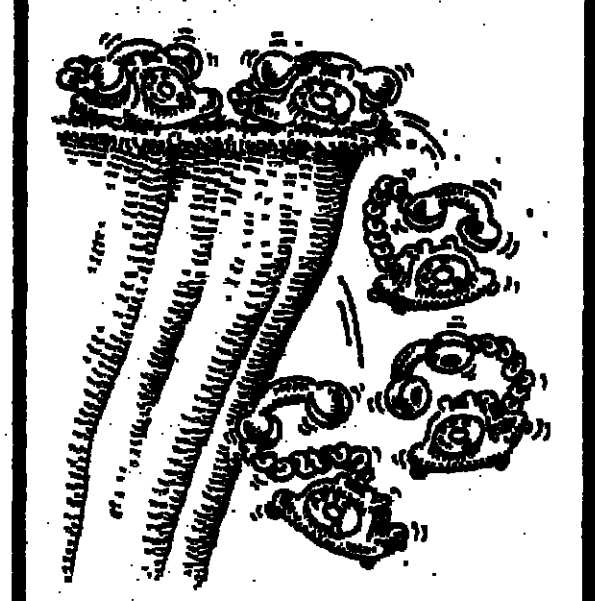
#### International

Botswana police launched a manhunt for Cereant Benana, the former Zimbabwean president found guilty of sodomy. Page 3

#### Our e-mail address for editorial comments is

europa@guardian.co.uk

### Why is anyone paying up to 4 times more for long distance calls?



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JPX 10.1.20

Tomorrow *The Guardian EUROPE* offers the complete package including Saturday, the section which brings you book reviews, arts, interviews and features for the weekend. Plus six pages of sport.

+ European weather + Television and Radio + Crosswords + Cartoons + Britain's best columnists

# Rape victims hit by second tragedy

As 'evil' attacker is given five life terms for Christmas assaults on mother and nine-year-old, elder daughter is found dead in pond

WIN Woodward

YESTERDAY should have been, if not a good day, then a slightly better one for them than others of late. A 55-year-old woman and her nine-year-old daughter learned that the man who raped them at knife-point was being sent to jail with five life sentences for the attacks, and for another rape 10 months later.

But they had another traumatic event to cope with. It emerged yesterday that the body of a woman found on Tuesday afternoon in an ornamental pond in Kensington Gardens was the 20-year-old daughter of the mother and the elder sister of the girl.

Police believe the body had lain undiscovered in the pond for 10 days. But though she had been missing since she left her mother's house in Essex to visit friends on November 6, her mother had not reported anything and had not been overly concerned. "This was not out of character," said the police in a statement. "She would often leave home for periods of time."

The death is being treated as "suspicious," but not as a murder inquiry. At the Old Bailey yesterday, where William Kenealy, 25, of Northolt, west London, was sentenced, Richard Whitlam, for the prosecution, announced to a stunned courtroom the identity of the body found in Kensington.



William Kenealy (left) and the woman's body found in a pond in Kensington Gardens on Tuesday



Christian, had been praised by the judge for a level of courage "which shows what the best of human nature can achieve". She had given evidence and, clutching a Bible, attended every day of the trial since it began last Monday.

But she was not in court yesterday. On Tuesday, when a jury had found Kenealy guilty of the rapes on Boxing Day 1996, and of a separate rape of a 17-year-old schoolgirl, Detective Chief Inspector Sue Akers

said the mother was "delighted". "She will be feeling thrilled and will now be able to throw a veil over these awful two years and start rebuilding her life with her daughter."

That afternoon the body was discovered by an American tourist. Yesterday Judge Ian Davies told Kenealy that the terrifying effects of his attack still remained. "I am satisfied your conduct has manifestly perverted tendencies and

while at large you will remain a danger to women for an indefinite time."

The court had heard how the mother and daughter and had gone to bed on Christmas night in the house in Northolt where the elder daughter was living at the time.

The mother was half asleep when she became aware of Kenealy in the room, armed with a knife taken from the kitchen. He pulled a quilt over her head and raped her twice. She thought her daughter was still asleep and put her hand out to reassure her, only to find the attacker's hand was on the child.

She called Kenealy "pure evil".

Kenealy then raped the girl twice. The girl's injuries were so serious that a doctor had to stop examining the child until she had been given a general anaesthetic. The girl later told police: "When he finished hurting Mummy he began hurting me."

A year after the rapes, the girl's statement was released in an appeal for information

to try to catch the rapist. She said: "I just couldn't call out for help or do anything to protect my Mum, I was so scared that I just kept very still."

"I was screaming for him to stop. My mum tried to help, but she couldn't."

Kenealy had denied twice raping both mother and daughter and raping the 17-year-old girl.

Kenealy's schoolgirl victim was raped in west London on her way to a school concert. He put a hand over her mouth, saying he had a knife, and dragged her into a drive.

DNA evidence linked Kenealy to both crimes. Police now wish to interview him about two other rapes. Police said yesterday the woman whose body was found in Kensington was a victim of psychiatric illness and had been treated at various London hospitals in recent months. She was wearing the same clothes, including a Remembrance poppy, that she had on when she was last seen by her mother.

## Sketch

Shucks, dogs just do bite uncles



Simon Hoggart

"SIT DOWN! WILL YOU SIT DOWN?" shouted Ann Widdecombe. This might be thought an over-aggressive way to address a class of eight-year-olds, never mind one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, to wit Frank Dobson.

But Ms Widdecombe does not make so much a speech as an opposed assault on a beachhead. The bombardment is unrelenting and is sufficiently loud. To misquote the Duke of Wellington, I don't know what she does to the Government, but by God she frightens me.

Yesterday's debate on the Health Service started quietly enough. Ms Widdecombe was dressed festively in a red, charcoal and cream plaid jacket, so that with her shiny mop of black hair, she looked like a Labrador which had got itself wrapped in the picnic tablecloth.

Mr Dobson was in his jovial uncle mode. He, too, addresses the other side as if they were slow but tractable children. "You know, sometimes I think Oppositions ought to just sit there and say 'thank you'... when will the shortages end? Well, it won't be tomorrow... you can't just flick a switch and get a thousand extra medical school places? Well, bless my soul and no mistake, you expected him to say."

Ms Widdecombe lurched to her feet and hurled herself at the Dispatch Box. "What about Mr Wilde, who has been waiting for 32 months?" "Heavens to Betsy! Lawless-mercy!" said Mr Dobson. (He didn't actually, but with his bottomless folksiness it felt as though he had.) "There

are 44 million people in England, and she picks out one name, and says: 'Here's a name - has he had his operation yet?' (Pause for indulgent chuckle.)

Then came an argument about who was to blame for whatever it was they were arguing about. "In case she is suffering from Alzheimer's, she should remember that the Tories were in power in January 1997," he said.

This was a mistake. It led to one of those subtle yet vicious exchanges when the House trades moral superiority. "He made a frivolous comment about Alzheimer's," Ms Widdecombe said. "I have to tell him that Alzheimer's is not a joke. There are many people who will be offended."

All true, of course, though the sight of a Tory patrolling the corridors of political correctness is always startling. And when you start, where do you finish? "The minister is blind drunk." "For those who suffer from blindness, that is not remotely funny..."

Labour backbenchers stirred uneasily. Then the hooligan John Bercow (C Buckingham) shouted: "Get up and apologise!"

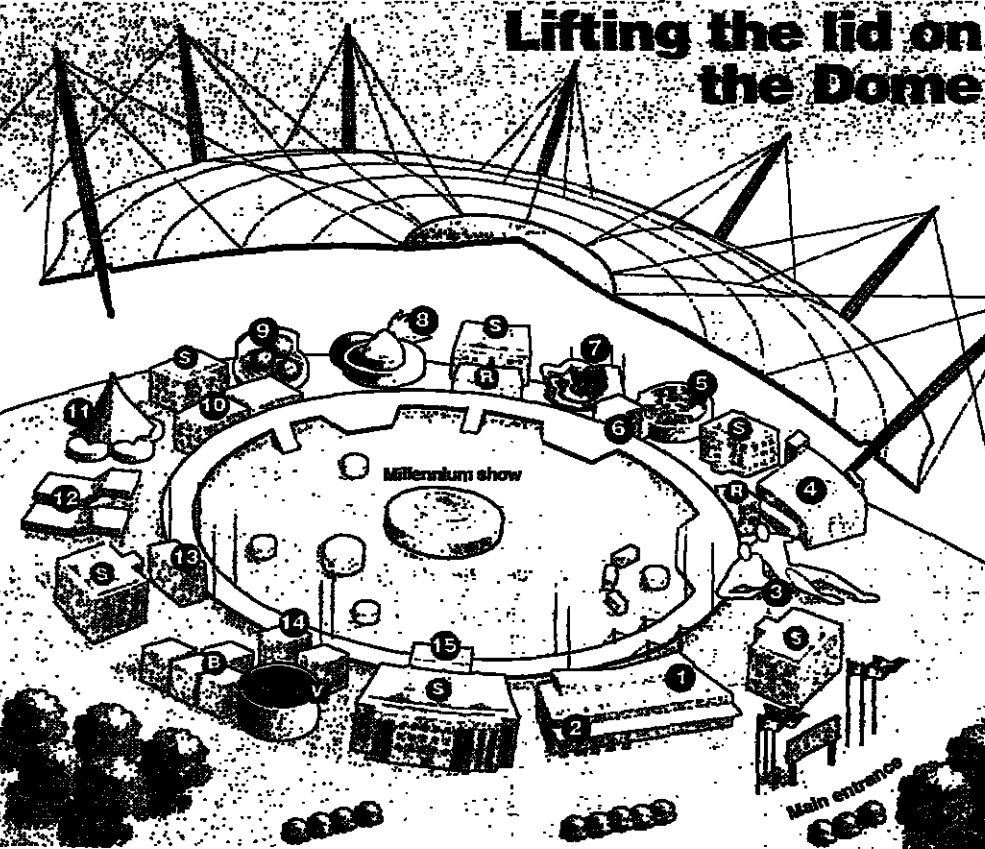
He sounded so absurd, his manner so dementedly pompous, that Labour metaphorically sighed and began to enjoy the speech again.

"I had hoped to avoid my conference speech," she said, but she failed. She got excited, her arms waved and pointed and flapped across her bosom and smashed the air so hard you expected them to leave her torso and fly across the Chamber.

I found myself wondering if she might present a cookery programme on TV, since she is as different from Delia Smith as it is possible for a female. Roman Catholic, human being to be. She does not favour placid, somnolent instruction. "Take two eggs! Not three! Two! Whisk them up LIKE THIS! Then slam the onelette pan on the stove. Now, not in 10 minutes time! CAN YOU GET ANYTHING RIGHT?"

"Now, LISTEN! Today we're talking about toad-in-the-hole - or Michael Howard as I call him."

- 1 Learn
- 2 Work
- 3 Body
- 4 Play
- 5 Local
- 6 Mobility
- 7 National
- 8 Global
- 9 National identity
- 10 Communicate
- 11 Spirit
- 12 Mind
- 13 Rest
- 14 Our town story
- 15 Transaction
- 16 Visitor services
- 17 Backstage
- 18 Retail
- 19 Blackout tunnel ventilation shaft



## Lifting the lid on the Dome

## Rail delays dent Dome optimism

continued from page one

disappeared from previously published lists of supporters.

Shadow culture secretary Peter Ainsworth called for more openness over the project. "There is a culture of obfuscation and spin that is horrendous."

There is also concern over Baby Dome, a rectangular structure. The auditorium, which will contain two 2,500-seat cinemas, still does not have an architect. But some of its content has been decided, including a 30-minute film celebrating British humour.

Other details were slightly more cerebral. The Mind Zone, designed by architect Zaha Hadid, is a steel and plastic structure, where visitors will see how brain imaging can show which areas of the brain respond to different senses, and will demonstrate the brain's powers of recovery.

The Body Zone architect, Nigel Coates, said that he had gone back to basics for the design. The design, which is reminiscent of work by sculptor Barbara Hepworth, was informed by Etruscan tomb statues.

But away from the plans, the world of politics intruded on the optimism as Gerald Kaufman criticised London Transport for Jubilee Line delays.

An exasperated Mr Kaufman told Mr Tunnicliffe that he was losing faith in its ability to deliver the Jubilee Line extension. He read extracts from Mr Tunnicliffe's evidence to the committee last year in which he said that the Jubilee Line would open by September 1998. "We are now a year on from that. You are now asking us to have faith. Why should we have any greater confidence? My faith is rapidly diminishing."

## Hit squad and 800 drivers to tackle rail blackspots

Keith Harper  
Transport Editor

EIGHT hundred new drivers and a "hit squad" to tackle the railway industry's 50 worst blackspots were announced yesterday by the Government.

But the Deputy Prime Minister, John Prescott, admitted it would be a "long haul" before passengers noticed improvements.

His action plan, agreed after a meeting with Railtrack and the 25 train operating companies, was seen in the industry as a holding move. It will be a year at least before Mr Prescott gets legislation to force the industry to provide a better deal for the taxpayer.

Mr Prescott said: "Rail passengers have a right to expect a railway which is reliable, safe and fairly priced. I am pleased the industry has recognised that it needs to live up to its responsibilities."

He said that in February the Government would stage a national railway summit, where he would thrash out how best to get long term improvements. If people in the industry failed to deliver, they would have no future in the railway.

Later, John Reid, Transport Minister, said that it might be another "one or two years" before passengers noticed any improvements. The train companies have promised to recruit and train 400 drivers over the next six months and a further 400 before the end of next year to reduce the number of trains cancelled through driver shortages.

There will be a "hit squad" from Railtrack and the companies will tackle the worst blackspots in the London commuter belt and the West Coast main line. A national "troubleshooter" team will tackle punctuality problems.

More than 500 new vehicles, on order for the past two years, will be introduced over the next year. Railtrack and its contractors will improve track maintenance to ensure fewer delays.

A new national passenger survey will help measure performance across the network. The recruitment of drivers is the most important move to improve performance. Drivers are poached from around the country to meet demands and pay rates have soared since privatisation from around £15,000 a year to an average of £24,000.

Several railway companies are well below performance targets. If this continues, they could have their franchises withdrawn, sources close to the Deputy Prime Minister hinted last night. The franchise would then return to the rail franchise director, John O'Brien, who has the authority to allow British Rail to run services.

## Hancock wows youngsters with action-packed display

Review

John Fordham

Herbie Hancock  
Sound Republic, London

HERBIE Hancock, the great and perennially youthful jazz pianist, likes to make laborious preambles about such things as his partner's choice of jackets, the ruthless demands of record companies and the tyranny of one-night stands. He then frequently rockets off into musical performances of such surging power and intensity that he leaves you reeling.

He's been in London for the second time in six months, playing Sound Republic, the new hi-tech supper club in Leicester Square. It is a good size for jazz, but devoted to digitalism (TVs hang from the ceiling, door staff are miked,

and waitresses take orders on electronic pads). So the audience was youthful, and it was intriguing to witness their embrace of an acoustic jazz quartet. Hancock had the band that played the Barbican in July. Gene Jackson on drums, Kenny Davis on bass, and Craig Handy on saxophones. But unlike the Barbican show, in which Hancock's speeches rambled further and his playing at times seemed trapped in the same preoccupied loop, his show bristled with action after a hesitant start.

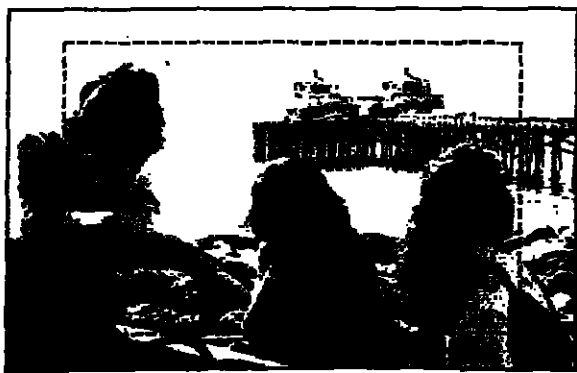
As he has done often since his album of new pop-based standards was released, Hancock pitched in with New York Minute and, after the theme statement with its staccato sax line, unfurled a stream of skimming runs punctuated with percussive chordal exchanges with the drums, urgent, trembling trills, and confident leaps into harmonic outlands. A change of pace and an eloquent Cole Porter

exploration ended in an exquisite exchange of high, fluttering sounds between Hancock's saxophone and the keyboard, and a battering Cuban vibe. Hancock's horn sounded like Morse code, eventually shooting into Just One Of Those Things at an uptempo four-four. Hancock played a stunning solo on this, full of rugged chordwork, molten runs and two-fisted hammering. Jackson's drumming filled the stage on Stevie Wonder's You Got It Bad Girl, and an initially distracted audience fell to leaning at absorbed ease on rails and pillars.

Hancock now played as quietly as he could as if daring his listeners to start chatting. But gradually the vamp behind Maiden Voyage emerged and built the show to a climax, bringing out the best in Hancock, this time on soprano saxophone. Hancock may sometimes act hard-done-by, but with gigs like this, he sure doesn't play like it.

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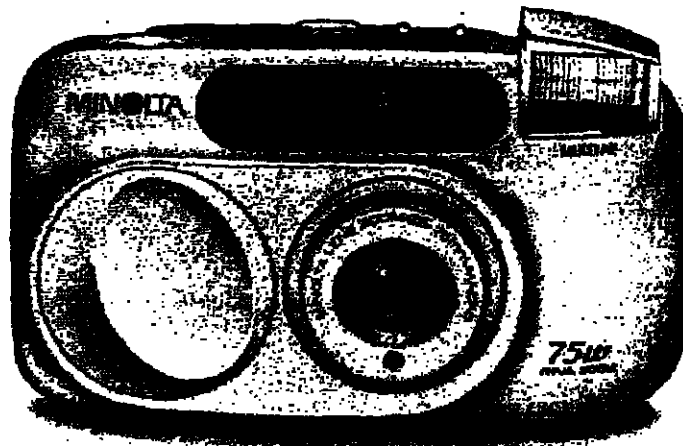
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سكرا من الاموال





The increasing gap between rich and poor means disparities in health have become more marked. Frank Dobson said yesterday the Acheson report was an ambitious attempt to tackle the problem



PHOTOGRAPHS: KIPPA MATTHEWS (left) and JED MURRAY

# Radical reform urged on killer poverty

Sarah Boseley  
Health Correspondent

**A** MAJOR independent inquiry yesterday produced a radical blueprint for social change and reforms across every area of government to address the ill-health and shortened lives that go with poverty.

The Government-commissioned report of Sir Donald Acheson, the former chief medical officer, calls for a refocusing of social, health, housing and transport policies on the less well-off.

But although it accepts that poverty is the underlying reason for many early deaths and incidence of disease and urges that benefits for poor families should be increased, it stops short of recommending higher taxes for the rich to close the wealth and health gap. It also attracted criticism for not costing its proposals.

Frank Dobson, the Health Secretary who commissioned the report, called it "a further stage in our unprecedented commitment to tackle inequalities in health."

"No previous government has ever set itself such ambitious targets. But we are confident we can succeed. That's because the whole of the Government is taking action. Led by the Prime Minister, all the Cabinet are working together to tackle the things that make people ill."

But the scope of the Acheson vision is huge, and the reforms he recommends would inevitably be costly. Sir Donald warned that every area of concern, from the malnourished mothers who go without food to provide for their children to the lack of public transport, unemployment and the need for more fruit and vegetables, must be addressed.

"We believe that success will only come if implementa-

## How policies can change and save lives in our unfair society



Sir Donald Acheson

There are three main recommendations:

- All policies likely to have a direct or indirect effect on health should be evaluated in terms of their impact on health inequalities — and they should favour the less well-off.

- The health of women of child-bearing age, expectant mothers and young children should be a priority.

- Action is needed to reduce income inequalities and improve the living standards of poor households.

Others include:

- Cash or increased welfare benefits to women who

- are pregnant or may become pregnant, young children and older people.

- Remove barriers for parents who want to work through affordable high-quality childcare.

- Pre-school education to focus on disadvantaged children who should also have more free and healthy school food.

- Further steps should be taken to increase employment.

- Better and more available social housing. Better heating and insulation in existing houses. Better health care for the homeless.

- Services sensitive to the needs of ethnic minority groups should be developed, promoting greater awareness of their health risks.

- High quality, affordable public transport system should be developed.

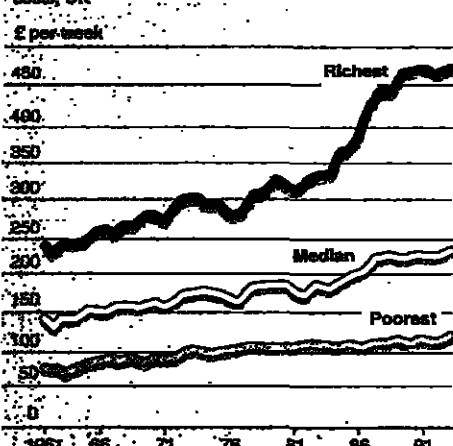
- Policies to reduce salt content of processed food, particularly in bread and cereals. Fluoridisation of water supply. Increase breastfeeding.

- Policies to prevent suicide in young people and promote their sexual health. Increases in tobacco prices. Nicotine replacement therapy on prescription.

## Health and wealth

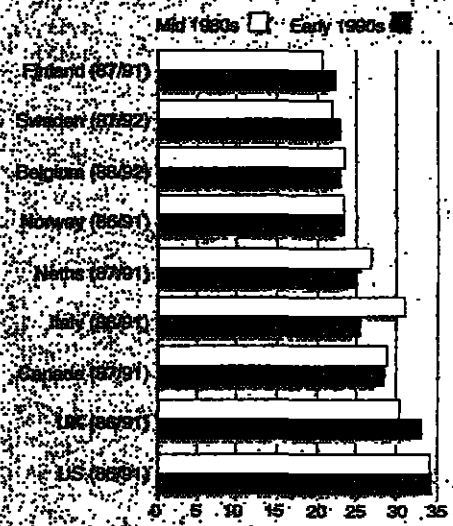
### Disposable income

Real household disposable income, before housing costs, UK



### Income inequality

Index of inequality (Gini coefficient, %)



## Death of a nation

European standardised mortality rates by social class, men aged 20-64, England and Wales

1970-72 1991-93

### All causes

Rates per 100,000

Professional	500	280
Managerial, technical	526	300
Skilled (non-manual)	637	426
Skilled (manual)	663	493
Partly skilled	721	492
Unskilled	897	806

### Lung cancer

Rates per 100,000

Professional	41	17
Managerial, technical	52	24
Skilled (non-manual)	63	34
Skilled (manual)	90	54
Partly skilled	93	52
Unskilled	109	82

### Coronary heart disease

Rates per 100,000

Professional	195	81
Managerial, technical	197	92
Skilled (non-manual)	245	136
Skilled (manual)	232	159
Partly skilled	232	156
Unskilled	243	235



The family's plight bears out much of the Acheson report

PHOTOGRAPH: DON MCPHEE

## A diet of chips, beans and Reduced food

### Martin Wainwright on one mother's struggle and how it has taken its toll on the family

**A**NGELA Hankey gave up a healthy diet when her third child coincided with a Benefits Agency slapdown of the £21.45 weekly cheque she was getting as disability money for stress.

Relatively pricey low-calorie foods were dropped from a budget which has to provide full-fat milk, frozen vegetables and other body-builders for the children.

"I used to watch my weight," she said, in an interview room at a Salford citizens' advice bureau. "That's out of the question now, because the money has to go on the kids."

Mrs Hankey, aged 34 and

from a bleak council estate in Bury, Greater Manchester, bears out much of the reasoning in Sir Donald Acheson's report. The pinch on her benefits, especially two half-year periods when she lost invalidity and had to go through draining appeals to get it back, has affected her health and possibly her family.

She split up with an alcoholic partner when her daughter, now eight, and son, now seven, were new at school. She gets by on income support of £50.35, topped up with £17.30 weekly payments for each child, and £11.05 lone parent rate. The money

goes with frightening speed on essentials — power and council tax — and the erratic nature of her invalidity benefit does not help.

"I never know when they'll try to stop it again," she says, still feeling the humiliation of the medicals she had to take this summer to get the cash back in September, after it was stopped for five months.

Her economy is long-familiar with the supermarket's reduced shelf and the day-before-sell-by-but-still-fresh fruit and vegetables highlighted by red stickers.

"The kids are faddy, too. They only want to eat certain things, usually the wrong ones like McDonald's or Burger King, but there's no money to go to places like that in our house," says Mrs Hankey, whose brief return to work as a water safety teacher

ended when third child Dean arrived a year ago.

"I felt so angry about [the Government] suggesting single women are scroungers that I wrote to Tony Blair. I told him I've got a job — it's called Being a Mother, and it's a lot more tiring and hard work than loads of 'real' jobs."

Mrs Hankey is keen on staying at home for the two school-age children, fired by unhappy schoolgirl memories of an empty house when her mother was at work. "I always want to be here for them when they get back and I hate leaving them with anyone else. Now I've got Dean [whose father, Angela's boyfriend, lives separately from the family], I can't imagine going to work and putting him into a nursery or trying to get a childminder."

Angela's babies have all

been small — another phenomenon noted by Sir Donald. She says: "I'm glad he's saying they should change the tax system and put more money into benefits. But will they? Will they heck?"

Angela's daughter shows signs of being affected by the stress — and possibly the dietary shortfalls which alarm Sir Donald. The nine-year-old, who weighed 5lb 6oz at birth, has developed "unusual faddiness", her mother says. "She won't eat stuff from certain shops, or have food in particular friends' houses," says Angela, who has added previous "unthinkable" like chips and beans to her own diet recently in an attempt to afford different food for the family.

Names have been changed at the interviewee's request.

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# Blair faces up to continental divide

**THE EURO:** The issue that tore the Tories apart threatens Labour as the EU's leftwing consensus adds impetus to centralisation

Michael White and Ian Traynor

One mood-shift symbolised the changed political landscape under New Labour: it was Tony Blair's capacity to push the European issue off the front pages of newspapers which once used it to bring John Major to his knees.

Suddenly, dangerously, it is back on page one of the Tory tabloids. Ministers claim to be unimpressed. "Rupert Murdoch is a businessman, not an ideologue. He'll come round," they predict. "Look at the Tories, still fighting over Europe." And "it's all a matter of timing."

Uncertainty yesterday about the sudden threat of uniform tax rates from Finland to the Mediterranean prompted Gordon Brown to say "no one is proposing any change in VAT" and to renew his budget pledge not to raise domestic rates.

Euro-sceptics in both main parties doubt it. As for Mr Blair, the arch Euro-pragmatist, he is unimpressed by recent talk of a new centre-left consensus in the European Union since Gerhard Schröder won power in Germany in September. In Bonn, Paris, Rome and even Madrid, his centre-left allies want help in covering their exposed centre flank, not their left, he tells colleagues.

Europe never really went away. It has flared up periodically since election day, most dangerously when Mr Brown's Treasury team tried to massage Britain's attitude towards membership of the single currency.

Mr Blair's genius, far more successful, has been the gentler approach to joining the euro — the shifting of public expectations from "if we join" to "when we join". Voters are comforted by the

twin-lock of the Prime Minister and Chancellor, putting the national interest first and, when the time is ripe, seeking permission from the electorate in a referendum, almost certainly after the next election is safely won.

Global economic turbulence provided a useful distraction this summer, allowing Mr Blair and Mr Brown to preach the statesmanlike virtues of responsibility and co-operation. But the launch date for the euro, barely five weeks away, makes the momentum across the Channel impossible to ignore.

The single currency is an opportunity and a danger for the government. If the euro is an instant success, being inside Euroland will look easier for the battered pound and jittery exporters. "A zone of stability" in a troubled world was how Mr Blair described it at last June's EU summit in Cardiff.

Even the Daily Mail might be impressed by cheaper euro-denominated mortgages. Instead the Mail is up in arms at the prospect of EU "tax harmonisation", by which it fears that zero-rating on British food, children's clothing, newspapers even, will end by Brussels flat and corporation tax will rise to EU levels with income tax not far behind.

Throw into the mix last weekend's New European Way statement by 11 out of 15 centre-left finance ministers, plus Rolls-Royce's improbable success in relocating in the US, and the social chapter pushes up costs. It has the usual suspects — the Mail, Sun, Times and Telegraph — back on Brussels's case.

Europe in the shape of the German finance minister, Oskar Lafontaine, is giving them plenty of ammunition. Mr Lafontaine has beefed up his powers at the expense of the economics ministry by insisting on being given the latter's responsibility for European



CHANCELLOR Gerhard Schröder's honeymoon has been cut short. Only two months after winning an historic election victory, the Social Democratic leader stands daily accused of being asleep at the wheel.

Senior party and government sources say that neither he nor his team were prepared for taking office, and were taken aback by the scale of their victory on September 27. His regional allies in the 16 German states have mounted a revolt against his economic and tax policies. Industry is in the throes of rebellion with 100 prominent businessmen about to unveil a manifesto savaging the new government's policies. The government's own panel of economic advisers also panned his policies as inconsistent, uninspiring, and incoherent.

Within the government rows are raging over green taxes, immigration, nuclear power, foreign policy and welfare reforms. Mr Schröder appears to be playing a longer game and admits the change of regime could have got off to a better start. Since taking office, he has visited Washington, Moscow and a stream of European capitals. He said yesterday he would begin concentrating on his domestic agenda.

economic policy-making.

Armed with this extra authority he began laying out his vision of "a more social Europe". Ultimately, he wants a level playing field across the European Union which eradicates competitive advantages in fiscal, investment and wages policy.

It means tax havens such as the Channel Islands, the Isle of Man, and Luxembourg have to go. It means that Ireland's low corporation taxes are inadmissible since they are a disincentive to foreign investment elsewhere in the union.

It also means — in stark contrast to the government of Helmut Kohl, which wanted to keep employment policy under national remit —

Europe-wide macro-economic policies aimed at creating jobs and triggering growth.

While much of the Lafontaine agenda is targeted at the medium term, he appears determined to use his close relationship with his French counterpart, Dominique Strauss-Kahn, and Germany's forthcoming EU presidency, to make a start on levelling Europe's playing field.

Mr Lafontaine complains about the negative impact of "social, tax, and wage dumping" in the EU. Several big German banks, for example, are being investigated for aiding and abetting tax evasion by advising their clients to put their savings in German



JOSCHKA FISCHER, the former street fighter, taxi driver, and Greens leader who has been catapulted on to the world stage as Germany's foreign minister, has been careful to avoid mistakes in his whirlwind tour of foreign capitals.

But this week he has been at the centre of two controversies which raise serious questions about the cohesion and harmony within Chancellor Schröder's cabinet.

Rehashing a policy shift enshrined in the coalition pact agreed between his Greens and Mr Schröder's Social Democrats, he said Germany wanted Nato to reverse its military doctrine and pledge no first use of nuclear weapons. He then called for a single European state with one constitution, one currency, one army, and one foreign policy.

The nuclear initiative came just as his cabinet colleague, Rudolf Scharping, the defence minister, was making his debut visit to Washington where he had to engage in frantic damage limitation to soothe the furious Americans.

His boss, Mr Schröder, beat a retreat yesterday on the single European state notion, although the consensus among mainstream German politicians and parties is that in the longer-term Mr Fischer will be proved right.



OSKAR LAFONTAINE has turned into the biggest Euro-bogeyman of the British tabloid and rightwing press since the days of "Up Yours Delors". The powerful finance minister and chairman of the Social Democrats, however, rebuffs verbal fisticuffs with central bankers or xenophobic editorial writers and is already laughing off his new-found status as Jacques Delors' Mark Two.

In the past month, Mr Lafontaine has given a convincing impression of meaning business, knowing what he wants, and how he intends to go about getting it. In this respect, he is unique in the new German government.

He deliberately picked a fight over interest rates with the German central bank — not usually advisable in Germany. But his real target is the European central bank which will be running the single currency from January.

He has also sparked a row through his advocacy of "harmonised taxes" on companies and on interest earnings across the European Union. In the process he has made many enemies both within Germany and abroad. But he shows little sign of backing down or being chastened.

Profiles by Ian Traynor

## Taxing times for European Union



Mark Milner

**B**RUSSELS, in the shape of single market commissioner Mark Milner, wants to bring rates of tax in areas like value added tax, excise duties, and energy into line. For Mr Milner, moving towards similar rates of tax would improve the efficiency of the single market.

The amount of tax people or companies have to pay may affect their economic decision making. So having different tax rates may create "distortions" — people making different decisions from those they would have taken if tax rates had been the same.

Anyone visiting Cité Europe, near Calais, in the run up to Christmas is likely to see Mr Milner's distortions in action.

Lower excise duties of alcohol have made the giant stores a magnet for British shoppers — much to the chagrin of rival vendors in the south-east of England.

But, excise duties apart, Britain has relatively low tax rates compared to other areas of Europe. In particular, food, children's clothes, and, it must be said, newspapers are exempt from VAT.

Not that the harmonisation would be all bad news for Britain.

As the Calais booze queues show, if British excise duties were to be "harmonised" they would — provided the Scandi-

**HARMONISATION:** Too many governments worry that if the Union does not act, the market will do it for them

navians could be kept on board — be more likely to be lowered rather than increased.

Another area of concern is stamp duty — the tax paid when you buy a house. In Britain it is very low — 1 per cent on properties worth less than £250,000, reflecting the British propensity for moving house — but in Belgium it can run as high as 12.5 per cent.

Harmonisation at that level would make moving house even more prohibitively expensive.

Nor is Belgium on its own. France, Greece, and Portugal have stamp duty levels in double figures, while only Germany and Sweden are close to the British level.

For many in Britain that would be bad enough but the new German government wants to go further. Finance minister Oskar Lafontaine wants to clamp down on "off-shore" tax havens like Andorra, San Marino, Monaco, Luxembourg and the Channel Islands, and to bring corporate tax rates into line.

It is the last proposal which raises the most ire. Corporate tax rates vary widely within the EU and, just as low excise duties affect where we buy our booze, so corporate tax rates may play a part in which EU countries companies choose to invest.

Take Britain and France, for example. The difference in corporate tax rates is 10 percentage points. In simple terms, if a company was plan-

ning a plant where it expected to make pre-tax profits of £100 million, it would find itself paying £10 million a year more tax in France than in Britain.

It does not take a genius to work out that could affect investment thinking.

It is not simply a question of rates of tax. As Joy Svastis-Salee, head of international tax at accountants KPMG, points out, the tax base on which tax is levied is also important in determining the actual amount of tax which companies pay.

Taxation is only one factor affecting investment decisions — employment costs also have to be taken into account, which is why some British companies, most recently the aero-engine manufacturer Rolls-Royce, are worrying publicly about the impact of euro-inspired social and labour costs.

But though tax rates are not the sole driver of investment decisions, Ms Svastis-Salee acknowledges that they do have an effect.

"For mobile companies it does have an effect. We have seen that in Holland, Belgium, and more recently Ireland."

Taxation matters are meant to be left to national governments — though the EU members have put together a deal to prevent the development of "harmful" policies — that is, those which would give individual countries too big an advantage in the competition



Stocking up in Calais, where the lower excise duties on alcohol have made the giant stores a magnet for British shoppers

PHOTOGRAPH: GRAHAM TURNER

### Standard VAT rates across Europe

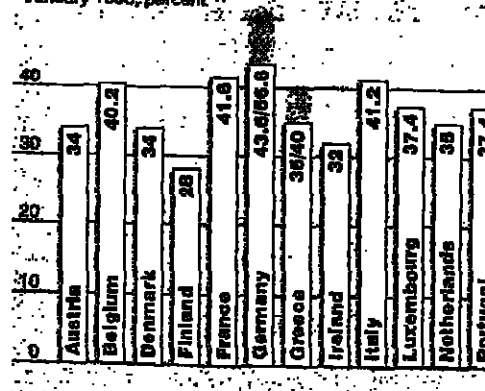
January 1998, percent



Source: KPMG

### Corporate tax rate survey

January 1998, percent



Source: KPMG

For Brussels, moving towards similar rates of tax would improve the efficiency of the single market

John 1250



Straw requests seven-day extension on deadline for decision on whether process of extraditing Pinochet to Spain should go ahead

# Chilean minister flies in to see Cook

Janine Wilson  
and Ewen MacAskill

**T**HE Chilean foreign minister, José Miguel Insulza, will arrive in London today for a meeting with the Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook, when he will argue that Augusto Pinochet should be freed.

As legal and political wrangling continued in London and Santiago, the Home Secretary, Jack Straw, yesterday asked for a seven-day extension to the time he has been allotted to review the case. He has to decide whether to allow the process of extradition to Spain to continue or to send the 68-year-old former dictator home to Chile.

The planned meeting between the two foreign ministers follows Wednesday's 3-2 majority ruling by law lords that Pinochet is not immune from prosecution on charges of genocide, torture and terrorism.

A Foreign Office spokesman said Mr Cook had a "short but very amicable" telephone conversation with Mr Insulza on Wednesday night in which the meeting was arranged for this afternoon.

Mr Cook will tell Mr Insulza that the case must be decided by judicial process, over which the Foreign Secretary has no influence. His concern is only with relations between Britain and Chile.

In its many communications with the Foreign Office, the government in Santiago has been careful so far to avoid escalating the crisis. "There has been no threat of 'breaking of relations,'" the FO spokesman said.

Mr Insulza will also make representations to Spanish authorities during his trip to Europe. Chile has vowed to contest the law lords' ruling, arguing that Britain should recognise Pinochet's immunity as a senator and that Spain has no authority to judge crimes allegedly committed in Chile.

Last night's written representations from the Chilean embassy were lodged with the Foreign Office. They will be forwarded to the Home Office for Mr Straw's consideration. His original deadline for issuing an authority to proceed in the case was next Wednesday, but the Home Office confirmed yesterday that a letter had been sent to Bow Street magistrates asking for the extra seven days.

Labour MPs are confident that Mr Straw, in spite of protests that the decision is quasi-judicial, will not risk incurring the anger of his party by denying the extradition process. Those close to him denied yesterday that his request for an extension was an elaborate ritual to give an impression of weighty consideration before allowing the process to go ahead. Rather it was to allow for an expected deluge of representations.

While Mr Straw may review the case at the weekend, he will not have the night of agonising over which direction to take: he will wait until all representations are in. When he has read them he will discuss the case with civil servants from the Home Office division that deals with extradition.

Conservative MPs yesterday continued to push for Pinochet to be allowed to go home. The shadow foreign secretary, Michael Howard, urged Mr Straw to halt the extradition process: "We think this has gone on for too long."

The former Tory defence secretary, Michael Portillo, said Pinochet's arrest was indefensible and drew a comparison between his treatment and the Government's dealings with the Sinn Féin president, Gerry Adams.

Celebrations and protests turned sour in Santiago on Wednesday night. There were more than 100 arrests as Pinochet supporters blocked roads and scuffled with police near the Spanish ambassador's residence, while a march by opponents in the city centre was dispersed using water cannon.

In Spain it was reported that the centre-right government is secretly hoping that Mr Straw will block extradition. While the prime minister, José María Aznar, has insisted on letting justice run its course, he would be "overjoyed" to find an easy exit from an embarrassing political dilemma, a government adviser said.

Geoffrey Robertson, page 12; Letters, page 13

## Fears for trade and diplomacy after judgment

Sam Black  
Diplomatic Editor

**B**RTAIN faces a diplomatic nightmare in relations with Chile after the law lords' judgment on General Pinochet, with fears of retaliation over trade, investment and military links.

Foreign Office officials said yesterday they hope they will continue on an even keel, but privately there is concern that one of the UK's strongest bilateral relationships in Latin America may suffer serious damage.

"Obviously we are doing everything we can to minimise any impact on the wider relationship," one official said.

Yet an initial survey of the damage looks grim. Britain's embassy and the residence of ambassador Glynn Evans in Santiago have already seen angry demonstrations of thousands of people burning British flags.

On Wednesday night BBC correspondent Ben Brown reported that he, his producer and cameraman had been dragged into a building and kicked and punched by Pinochet supporters.

There is also concern that ex-military and secret police personnel may seek to inflame the situation further.

The Foreign Office says Britons should not visit Chile unless it is essential, advice which has angered a government anxious to promote tourism.

British officials were relieved when President Eduardo Frei said on Wednesday that he would not be pressured into retaliation, but one conservative senator has called for a boycott of both

British and Spanish goods. Michael Valdes-Scott, of the Latin American Trade Advisory Group, predicted that British companies bidding for privatisation contracts could suffer. "There is a lot of ill feeling," he said. "Eighty-five per cent of the private sector will be pro-Pinochet. They are the pushers and shovers."

Chile is Britain's third largest market in Latin America, with over £200 million worth of exports last year, although its market share is poor compared with US and European competitors.

In normal times London and Santiago have little to disagree about: their worst row in recent years was over a hefty 70 per cent duty imposed on Scotch whisky, designed to protect Chile's local rum, the reguile-like placo.

Historically, British influence is strong. From the early 19th century struggle for independence from Spain led by the Irish-born Bernardo O'Higgins, to current aid programmes helping good governance and environment programmes.

Military training and procurement links are close. Pinochet was visiting a Royal Ordnance factory (which the Government is set to sell) to say has now been privatised) while British Aerospace and Saab are competing against US and French rivals to sell their Gripen multi-role aircraft to the Chilean air force.

Yet some feel that images of an older Britain misled Chileans into underestimating what the law lords would do. "People here thought they were just a bunch of fuddy-duddies in wigs," said one Santiago-based Briton. "Lots of Chileans just don't have a good understanding of the way the UK is today."



Pinochet supporters in Santiago setting fire to a British flag yesterday

## World reaction

Staff reporters

**I**N CHILE, the anger and indignation at General Pinochet's continued humiliation was tempered with a certain amount of introspection. Coverage elsewhere in the world was more clear cut.

Photos of jubilant human rights activists and crestfallen Pinochet supporters graced the front pages of all the Chilean newspapers.

El Mercurio, which has the largest circulation, described the ruling as "an invasion of jurisdiction and an open challenge to national sovereignty".

The government newspaper La Nación said Pinochet's plight "has confronted us with a painful part of our recent history and exposed the unresolved problems of the transition".

It urged readers to act with "sense and sensibility" and not to deepen the "antagonisms that have lacerated Chilean society".

As expected, the Spanish press lauded the decision. "Democrats around the world have reason to rejoice," said El País.

The paper's cartoonist, Máximo, showed a wistful Pinochet with a thick

ble above his head that read: "This would not have happened under Franco."

Newspapers in France and Italy warmed to the same theme. Libération, the French leftwing daily, declared that "ruining Pinochet's old age" was a form of justice in itself.

Le Monde said Wednesday's ruling was "English genius" which marked the moment "when fear changed sides". France-Soir said the lords had never so justly deserved to be called noble.

Across the Alps, the Turin daily La Stampa thought the ruling had been a "real lesson in independence... as well as confirming the historic unpredictability of the English".

Rome's La Repubblica put a moving piece by the Chilean novelist Luis Sepúlveda on the front page under the headline "Tears of Joy".

In America, the deadpan Washington Post seemed supportive of the law lords. Its reporter in Santiago described how English-speaking journalists were sworn at by a handful of "stately grandmothers" who shouted "Get out, you sons of whores!" when TV stations broadcast the verdict.

But the article added: "For many Chileans who lost family members, Wednesday's ruling was a long-awaited taste of justice."

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**Resnais suddenly burst into song, doing a fair imitation of Chevalier, like one of the characters in his latest film.**

Ronald Bergan interview

**Friday Review page v**

Japanese judges take 30 seconds to destroy second world war veterans' compensation hopes after half a century of campaigning

## Atrocity victims line up to sue

Jonathan Watts in Tokyo

BRITAIN'S former prisoners of war are not the only ones seeking compensation over war crimes committed more than 50 years ago: there is a list of governments, organisations and individuals demanding redress from the Japanese government, which seems unable to satisfy anyone with the way it says sorry.

Even while the POWs were listening to the Tokyo district court's judgment yesterday, controversy over the nature of a suitable apology threatened to overshadow an historic visit to Tokyo by the Chinese president, Jiang Zemin.

The Japanese prime minister, Keizo Obuchi, voiced "remorse and apology" for Tokyo's aggression toward China, but it was widely reported that this did not go as far as Beijing had demanded. Although officials denied any rift, the continued sensitivities were glaring.

Tokyo had more success last month during a visit by the South Korean president, Kim Dae Jung, who accepted a similar apology, in writing. Although Seoul declared satisfaction with Japan's expression of atonement, there were protests in South Korea by "comfort women" who were forced to provide sex for Japanese troops.

The women have launched lawsuits in Japanese courts demanding compensation.

There are about 30 cases pending relating to wartime atrocities, including a group of Dutch forced labourers awaiting a ruling on Monday.

"All these legal cases show



An emotional Arthur Titherington addresses a news conference after the Japanese court had ruled against the claim of former prisoners of war

PHOTOGRAPH: HARUYOSHI YAMAGUCHI

that Japan has still not properly atoned for the past," said lawyer Tsuchiya Koken, who represents victims of biological warfare experiments.

"The problem is that the judges are not independent. They know that if they hand down decisions that go against

the wishes of their superiors, they will not be promoted."

Masao Yamaguchi, dean of culture studies at Sapporo University, said Japan has a different sense of culpability than Germany.

"There remains a feeling that the Allies were more res-

ponsible for the war than Japan. Many also see the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as proof that we were victimised more than Germany," he said. "For these and other reasons, Japanese people have largely kept silent about the war."

## Tokyo court rules out POWs' claim

Jonathan Watts in Tokyo and Rory Carroll

IN LESS than 30 seconds three Japanese judges yesterday rejected the compensation claim of former Allied prisoners of war, devastating veterans who fear that a half century of campaigning has failed.

A renewed legal challenge to the Japanese government was immediately lodged but was thought unlikely to succeed after Tokyo district court refused to accept that maltreatment had occurred.

Arthur Titherington, aged 76, who survived slave labour in a Taiwan mine, left the court in silence and walked to the Japanese parliament. "I spat on the floor. I then stormed away and wandered around to another entrance where there were more police and I repeated my action."

The former Royal Corps despatch rider and six other plaintiffs from Britain, the United States, Australia and New Zealand were representing about 20,000 former POWs and civilian detainees or their widows — 13,000 from Britain. The £290 million suit was filed four years ago.

Mr Titherington, chairman

## Sequence of events

1942: The largest British army ever to lay down its arms surrenders to Japan  
1942-45: A third of 50,000 British POWs die of disease, forced labour, and beatings  
1951: Survivors receive £76 under San Francisco treaty  
1971: Survivors protest when Emperor Hirohito pays state visit to Britain  
1989: Foreign Office insists compensation issue is settled  
1994: Survivors launch £290 million compensation

of the Japanese Labour Camp Survivors' Association, made a fearful address to a press conference: "There is no justice in this country."

The judges dismissed the case in a two-sentence ruling. In a written summary released later, the judges said the plaintiffs, as individuals, were not entitled to sue the government either under the Hague Convention of 1907 or under customary international law. As a result, the judges were not prepared to give a ruling on the facts.

This meant that harrowing personal testimonies given

claim for cruel and inhuman treatment 1998: Japan expresses remorse to people who suffered in second world war. Compensation not offered  
February: Arthur Titherington and others give evidence in Tokyo.  
May: Survivors turn backs on Emperor Akihito as he drives down The Mall  
November 26: Compensation claim rejected. Appeal lodged

twice by the POWs were ignored, even though the facts were uncontested.

"I have never been more insulted in my life than this morning," said Henk Zeeman, from New Zealand. "The judge dismissed the disasters of the Pacific with a casual denial. Japan is hiding behind vague legal technicalities."

The plaintiffs said the judgment was made on political grounds, because Japan feared a flood of similar calls for compensation from millions of other war victims.

Sadaaki Numata, of the foreign ministry, denied the ac-

cusation. "The case ran its course in the judiciary and we respect the decision made by the court."

The Foreign Office said it remained constrained by the 1951 San Francisco peace treaty which fixed compensation at £76 for POWs and £49 for civilian detainees, but the plaintiffs argued this did not preclude further individual claims.

Their solicitor, Martyn Day, said Japan could not accept what it did in the war. "We are feeling so absolutely desolate that we have been treated in this way, that it is hard to actually get to grips with what's happened."

"We will appeal, but in the light of this, we will be appealing with a heavy heart."

The appeal, expected to be heard in 12 months time, could last a further year if it goes to the supreme court. By then 20 per cent of the former prisoners could have died, said Mr Day. A third have died in the past six years.

Mr Day and his Japanese colleagues, who are working on a no win, no fee basis, have clocked up an estimated £1 million. Travel and other expenses have cost the plaintiffs £150,000. The government pays its own costs.

## Fathers are getting better at parenting, says senior judge

Sarah Hall

FATHERS fighting for the right to care for their children received endorsement yesterday from one of the country's most senior judges.

Mr Justice Cazalet, a judge in the High Court Family Division, indicated that attitudes to men's parenting abilities had changed, as he ruled that a two-year-old boy should remain with his father.

Upholding a Cambridge county court ruling made in September, the judge said: "Fathers are much better equipped to look after their children nowadays than they were some 10 years ago."

Last month, musician Bob Geldof gained custody over his three children by Paula Yates after a long-running, bitterly-contested legal battle. The latest official figures reveal that children stay with their mothers in 95 per cent of

cases. The remainder stay with their father, are cared for jointly by both parents, or are placed in care.

The judge's comments reflect a tentative trend, according to the pressure group Families Need Fathers, which represents 3,000 parents seeking custody. Its chairman, Jim Parton, said the percentage of children going to fathers had doubled to 2 per cent in the past year.

"Ten years ago, it was vir-

tually unheard of for this to happen — but in the last couple of years, we estimate the numbers have doubled," he said.

"But it is still a very minimal amount. And, while there is an increasing awareness that fathers are good parents — and the judge's comments reflect this — they tend to get custody when the mother is a drug addict, has a depressive illness or some other social problems."

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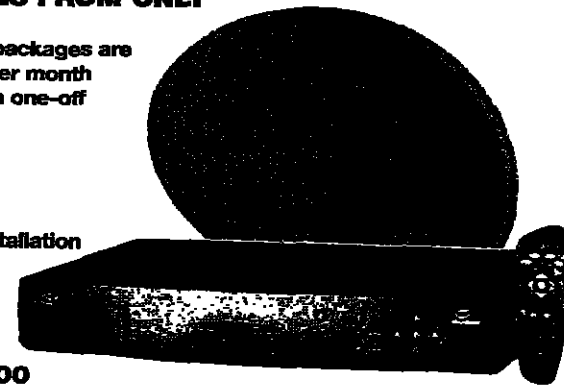
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Standing ovation for message of forgiving, forgetting and a future of living closer together from British PM 'with Ireland in my blood'

# Blair woos and wins over the Irish

John Mullin  
Ireland Correspondent

**W**ITH the tricolour of green, white and gold, at his shoulder, Tony Blair shamelessly wooed Irish parliamentarians yesterday with tales of his Celtic roots. He even tried a little Gaelic, and they were enraptured.

Nelson Mandela, John F. Kennedy and Bill Clinton had been there before him, but Mr Blair, after a quick bite of the lip, became the first British prime minister to address the Oireachtas, both Houses of Parliament, in Dublin. It was, as Speaker Seamus Pattison said, a significant step forward in the maturing relationship between Britain and Ireland.

Mr Blair told members of the Dail and Seanad that he felt profoundly the immensity of the honour they bestowed by inviting him to speak at Leinster House.

He offered his thanks, in Irish. The sole Sinn Féin TD, Colum Higgins, O. Carolan, joined the generous applause. It was a solemn yet strangely informal affair. Cherie Blair and Celia Larkin, partner of the Irish prime minister, Bertie Ahern, sat in the distinguished visitors' gallery, nodding. Their giggles carried across the Dail chamber. It was packed with 300 politicians and guests, many hunched in the aisles.

Mr Blair told them Ireland was in his blood. His grandmother ran a hardware shop in Ballysaxton, County Donegal. His mother, Hazel, was born there, leaving for a new life in Glasgow after the death of her father while she was a child.

He reminisced about childhood holidays spent at the four-star Sands House hotel in Rossmore, every summer from 1958 to 1966, and it was in the sea off the Irish coast that he learned to swim.

It was there too that his father, Leo, took him to a pub in the countryside for a Guinness. He had never forgotten the taste. It was always a pleasure to experience it again.

Members of the Dail and Seanad were already eating out of his hand. They were to pronounce his speech a stunner.

ning success, a cunning mixture of sentimentality and aspirations for a new beginning. It was a triumph of occasion over substance.

He admitted that the peace process was at a difficult juncture but believed progress was being made. There were impediments on the forming of the shadow executive and on IRA decommissioning, but "let us not underestimate how far we have come, and let us agree that we have come too far to go back now."

He said the memory of meeting survivors of the Omagh bomb with President Clinton three months ago would remain with him forever. "This was not the first atrocity, but with all my being I will do it to be the last."

Mr Blair had a message for invited guest Gerry Adams, Sinn Féin president. It was time for paramilitary decommissioning to begin. "I am not asking anyone to surrender. I am asking everyone to declare the victory of peace."

"The old ways are changing between London and Dublin, and this can spur the change and healing in Northern Ireland too. The old notions of Unionist supremacy and of narrow nationalism are having their fingers prised from their grip on the future."

"Just as we must understand your yearning for a united Ireland, so too must you understand what the best of Unionism is about. They are good and decent people, just like you."

They wanted to remain part of the UK, and he valued that wish. They felt threatened, but the Good Friday Agreement, by underpinning consent, heralded a new start.

Those urges to belong, divergent as they are, can live together more easily if we, Britain and the Irish Republic, can live closer together.

Down through the centuries, Ireland and Britain have inflicted too much pain, each on the other. But now we can try to put our histories behind us, try to forgive and forget those old enmities."

Finally he observed that Northern Ireland, which had divided the two countries for so long, was now pulling them closer together. His audience rose for the ovation.

Leaders continued, page 12.

Commonwealth was very strongly monarchical. Scholars speculate that Ireland might not have left in 1949 had it known that newly-independent and republican India was to be given special dispensation to remain in an organisation, headed then as now, by the British monarch.

The Commonwealth is a club that countries are still queuing up to join: Portuguese-speaking Mozambique, never a British colony but surrounded by Commonwealth members, is in Cameroon, only partly a British colony, joined in 1995. Rwanda, more French than British, wants to join. Yemen and Yasser Arafat's Palestine Authority — not yet an independent state — want in.

And Chief Anyaoku wants to expand. Ever the diplomat, he said yesterday he was "greatly encouraged" by the Taoiseach's statement, but made no promises. Decisions on membership have to be taken by heads of government, due to meet at the organisation's summit in South Africa next autumn.

The Commonwealth prides itself on being pro-democracy. Professor Lyon said, "Ireland fits the bill much more than some of the more dubious existing members, who were admitted for diplomatic reasons."

By coincidence, the outgoing British ambassador to Dublin, Veronica Sutherland, is to become the deputy secretary general of the Commonwealth next year.

and set upon. They were stripped to their underpants and passed to two IRA gunmen, who killed them.

The deaths were the climax to a sequence of linked killings. They began with the SAS's shooting dead of three unarmed IRA terrorists in Gibraltar, and continued with Michael Stone, of the Ulster Freedom Force, mounting a gun and grenade attack at their funerals, killing three.

His victims included IRA man Kevin Brady, and it was into his cottage that the soldiers drove three days later, apparently accidentally.

The releases bring to 215 the number of convicted terrorists freed under the agreement.

Two IRA killers, jailed for the gruesome murders of two British soldiers 10 years ago, were yesterday freed under the Good Friday Agreement, writes John Mullin.

Alex Murphy, aged 40 and Henry Maguire, 38, played key roles in the abduction and beating of corporals David Howes and Derek Wood after they drove into an IRA funeral cortege in Andersonstown, west Belfast, in March 1988. They were jailed for murder, with a recommendation that they serve a minimum 25 years.

Viewers around the world watched in horror on live television as the two Royal Signals Regiment soldiers were dragged from their car

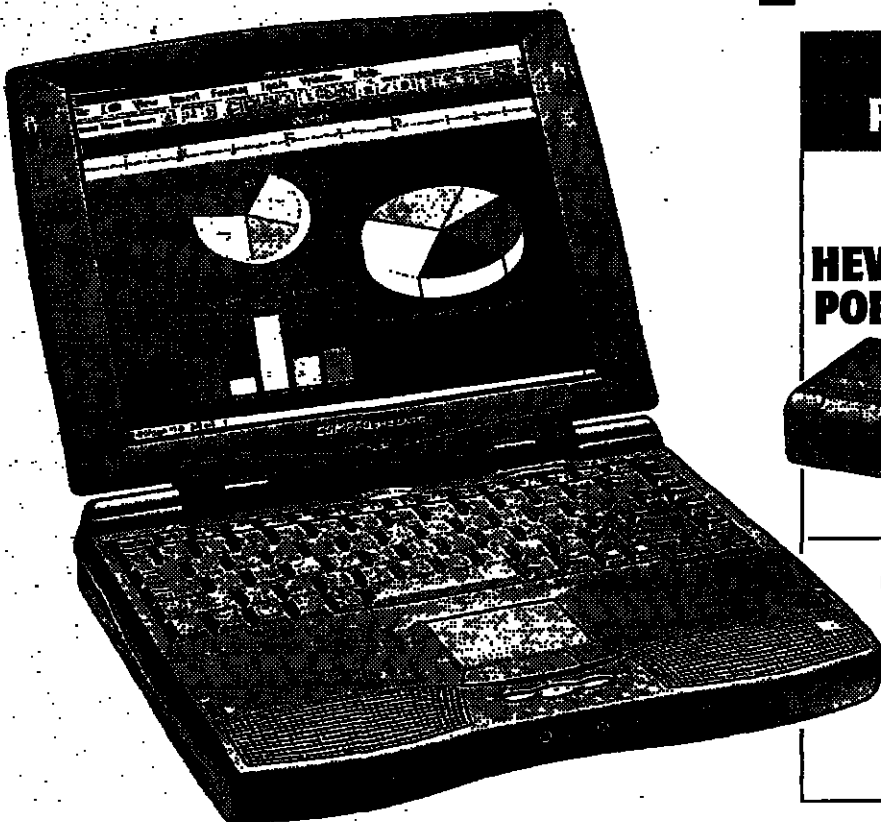


Tony Blair working the crowd with Bertie Ahern, left, during a visit to a supermarket at Drumcondra in Dublin yesterday. PHOTOGRAPH: CHRIS BACON

'Through the centuries Ireland and Britain have inflicted too much pain, each on the other. Now we can try to put our histories behind us, to forgive and forget those old enmities'

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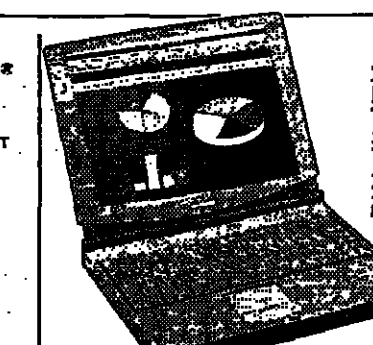
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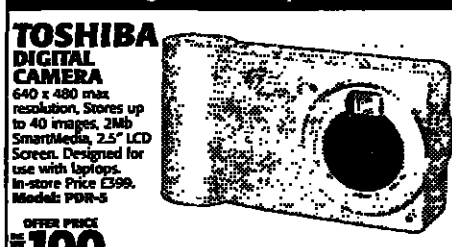


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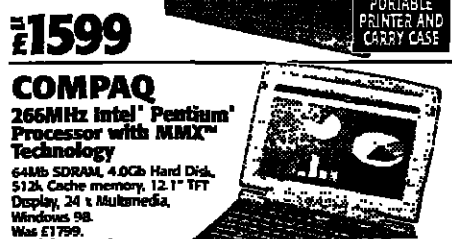
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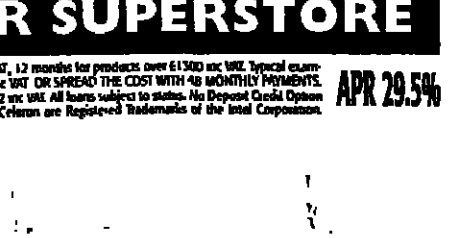
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A Bosnian Serb team (right) begins the exhumation of a mass Serb grave in a Sarajevo cemetery, where 10 bodies were found yesterday. Zeljko Karan (left, in cap), the forensic pathologist heading the team, examines a skull unearthed from the grave with a colleague. He is convinced only civilian remains have so far been found at the site. The team has about another week to uncover evidence before the ground freezes

PHOTOGRAPHS: FETHI DEMIR (main) and SAVA RADOVANOVIC

## Digging begins at mass Serb grave in heart of Sarajevo

Chris Bird in Sarajevo

A SERB pathologist places 10 small yellow pennants in a jagged row in the mud to mark where his team found 10 bodies yesterday at an exhumation of what Bosnian Serb and international officials said was a mass grave of Serbs in the centre of Sarajevo.

The forensic pathologist who heads the Serb investigating team, Zeljko Karan, said that since March he had

already exhumed the bodies of 500 Serbs killed during the 1992-95 Bosnian war.

But this was the first time the ethnic Serbs' commission on missing persons, based in the Serb half of what is now divided Bosnia, had come to Sarajevo to investigate.

"Sarajevo is also my town," Mr Karan said sadly. "My best years were here."

International attention has focused on the mass graves of Muslim victims of "ethnic cleansing". The largest mass grave to date was found in September near Zvornik, in

north-eastern Bosnia, where the bodies of 274 Muslims have been exhumed.

Mr Karan's team has only about another week before the ground freezes at the edge of Sarajevo's Lav cemetery, where the grave was found.

For the Muslims, the siege of Sarajevo meant three years of merciless Bosnian Serb shelling.

"The Muslims see themselves as blameless victims of the war, so this is important to put the record straight," a Western official based in Sarajevo said.

Above the newly opened grave an Italian soldier with the Nato-led Stabilisation Force in Bosnia (S-Por), cradled a rifle beside an armoured vehicle. Bosnian police stood nearby.

Below them acres of headstones bristled down the hillside — coffin-shaped ones for the Muslims and crosses for the Catholic Croats and a few Orthodox Serbs.

Bunches of flowers peeped out beneath a fresh covering of snow. An elderly woman standing by the mass grave broke down and sobbed.

"I know he's there," she said of her missing husband, before being led away.

"Witnesses say there are dozens of bodies buried here but we have to verify this," said Alexandra Stigmayer, spokeswoman for the Office of the High Representative, the civilian administration which runs the de facto Western protectorate in Bosnia, divided between Serbs and a Muslim-Croat federation.

Ms Stigmayer said different witnesses had said the bodies were Serb victims of Muslim or Croat paramilitary

groups, Serb soldiers found on the front lines, or even Serb patients killed in a nearby hospital.

"Some remains are in body bags, some in blankets, others are unprotected," Mr Karan said. But he thought he had found only civilians' remains.

He lifted a decayed, sodden blanket and held up a small skull in his latex-gloved hand.

"She was very old," he said. A grey femur lay in the mud.

He said he believed there were more Serb bodies on nearby ground, now covered with tiny wooden signs mark-

ing the shallower graves of Muslim children who died in the Kosevo Hospital during the war.

Heather York, a United States forensic anthropologist from Ohio, watched the Serb team digging. "I'm here to make sure it's fair, that nobody makes claims they shouldn't," she said.

"The most frequent cause of death, be it Serb, Croat or Muslim, is multiple gunshot wounds to the head," she said. But it was too early to say how the people in this grave had been killed.



## Bombing sparks Israeli rethink on Lebanon

David Sharrock in Jerusalem

THE deaths of two Israeli soldiers killed by a roadside bomb in south Lebanon yesterday rekindled Israeli calls for a unilateral withdrawal from its self-declared security zone.

In Beirut, the pro-Iranian Hizbollah group took responsibility for the attack, the latest in a recent upsurge of activity.

"Our fighters detonated a very huge bomb against a Zionist patrol near the village of Markaba," a Hizbollah spokesman said.

The Israeli army said the two soldiers were on a "routine mission" in the central sector of the nine-mile deep occupation zone when the bomb exploded at around midnight on Wednesday.

Five Israeli soldiers have been killed in south Lebanon in the past 10 days and 17 since the beginning of the year — a death toll lower than in any of the five previous years.

However, public opinion in Israel is swinging away from the occupation, a trend which the prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, acknowledged to reporters in London yesterday.

Mr Netanyahu said he would be willing to contemplate the withdrawal of Israeli troops from south Lebanon if a way could be found to meet Israel's security needs and protect its militia allies there.

"We absolutely understand and know that we will need to change the situation there in a fundamental way. We cannot accept the current situation as permanent," he said.

Foreign minister Ariel Sharon — who first led Israeli troops into Lebanon — is in favour of a unilateral pullback, with the proviso that Israel would strike deep and hard into Lebanese territory if its northern border was attacked.

But Israel's co-ordinator of activities in south Lebanon, Uri Lubrani, dismissed the idea of a unilateral withdrawal without security guarantees as "a

recipe for a multi-sided war in Lebanon".

In April, the Israeli cabinet adopted UN resolution 425, which calls on Israel to withdraw its troops immediately from Lebanese territory.

But the cabinet linked a pullback to guarantees that Lebanon would deploy its army in the occupied area to prevent guerrilla operations.

The leader of the opposition Labour party, Ehud Barak, called on Sharon "to go to Washington to look for ways to renew contacts with the Syrians". Syria is considered the main powerbroker in Lebanon with 35,000 troops there.

Israel invaded south Lebanon in 1978, setting up its self-declared "security zone" in 1985 to protect its northern border from attacks. Hizbollah is the main force fighting to drive Israel and its South Lebanon Army militia allies from the zone. Israeli and SLA troops have killed 31 guerrillas from Hizbollah and other resistance groups this year.

## Yeltsin secrets fuel succession war

James Meek in Moscow on the scramble for influence among the former inner circle

TIME is running out for Russia's sick president, Boris Yeltsin, and his family to depart the political scene with any dignity — a bitter battle between their one-time financial adviser and the security services is threatening to engulf the entire Yeltsin clan in a humiliating and potentially criminal end-game.

Increasingly the country — still shaken by the assassination of the liberal MP Galina Starovoitova a week ago — is looking to the prime minister, Yevgeny Primakov, to extricate Russia from the ugly final months of formal rule by a Yeltsin circle clinging to power from a hospital ward. Much of Russia's political elite, even within the presidential administration, feels the same.

Yesterday the escalating conflict between the Yeltsin's former financial counsellor, the tycoon Boris Berezovsky, and the security services took a new turn. The president's one-time chief bodyguard, Alexander Kozlov, accused Mr Berezovsky of blackmailing the country's first family.

He said the billionaire was threatening that, if the pressure on him from different quarters within the Primakov government was not lifted, he would reveal details of the Yeltsin's personal financial affairs, particularly the purchase of property abroad by Mr Yeltsin's daughter and aide, Tatiana Dyachenko.

"Tatiana and I believe the president's wife would like to forget Berezovsky, like a bad dream, but he warned them that if they touched him he'd publish all his documents about the presidential family," said General Kozlov.

Gen Kozlov, who was sacked in disgrace in 1996 and has since made a fortune from revelations about the Yeltsin, has friends in the Kremlin security service and knows the president's current bodyguard, Alexander Kuznetsov.

Gen Kozlov started yesterday by screening a private videotape he made for Mr Yeltsin in 1995. It shows Mr Berezovsky and a leading television producer talking about the assassination of a popular journalist who had just been appointed to head the country's largest channel, ORT.

A transcript of the tape was published in a tiny weekly newspaper in 1996 but it was the first time the tape had been shown. The still unsolved murder of the ORT boss, Vladimir Lisitsyn, produced an even greater shock in Russia than the Starovoitova killing.

Following the death of Lisitsyn, Mr Berezovsky gained undisputed control of ORT, using it to help Mr Yeltsin win re-election in 1996. Mr Bere-

zovsky was questioned by police after the murder but no evidence has ever linked him to the killing.

In the video, he is seen explaining, for no apparent reason, why on the day before the murder he handed \$100,000 to a major criminal. He said it was for information about an earlier attempt on his own life.

Mr Yeltsin's spokesman, Dmitri Yakushev, refused to comment on Gen Kozlov's statements, saying he was simply trying to draw attention to himself with "pseudo-sensational declarations". Mr Berezovsky called the former bodyguard "delirious".

For weeks Mr Berezovsky has been waging a noisy struggle against alleged persecution, accusing the FSB — once the KGB — of wanting to have him killed, calling for the Communist Party to be banned because of anti-Semitic remarks by one of its members and accusing the Communists of having murdered Starovoitova. He appears to be alarmed

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Yeltsin's disgraced former bodyguard Alexander Kozlov, above, has accused the president's former financial adviser, Boris Berezovsky, below, of blackmailing the first family. After Kozlov released a videotape of the billionaire talking about the murder of a journalist, Berezovsky called him "delirious"



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# Pressure mounts for Kabila to begin talks with rebels

Jon Herley in Paris

**T**HE Congolese president, Laurent Kabila, arrived in Paris yesterday for a summit of African leaders amid mounting fears that the four-month conflict that has ravaged his country could develop into a catastrophic war engulfing the heart of the continent.

Fresh from an audience with the Pope and meetings with European Union officials in Brussels, Mr Kabila is under heavy pressure to hold informal talks with the rebels during the three-day summit. The steadily escalating war has dragged in troops from up to a dozen central African states and caused thousands of civilian deaths.

Angola, Namibia, Chad, Zimbabwe, the Central African Republic and Sudan have backed the Kinshasa government with troops, tanks and planes. Uganda and Rwanda are deploying their forces in support of the rebels, who have gained control of most of the eastern half of the country since launching their insurgency on August 2.

An alarming United Nations report this week says large numbers of fighters from the former Rwandan Hutu army and its militia supporters — many of whom were implicated in the 1994 genocide of 1 million Tutsis

and moderate Hutus in Rwanda — have joined forces with Congolese troops.

"The situation in the Great Lakes region is rapidly heading for a catastrophe," said Mahmoud Kassem, the report's main author. "The danger of the repetition of [a] tragedy comparable to the Rwandan genocide of 1994, but on a sub-regional stage, cannot be ruled out."

He said some 20 rebel

**'There are no rebels. They are puppets being used by invaders'**

groups, in addition to those from Rwanda, were operating in the region and had forged links with other armed groups in Angola, Burundi, Uganda and elsewhere.

"This time the rebel groups are not only aligned among themselves but they are aligned with governments who are using them for their own purposes," he said.

In a report this week Amnesty International condemned horrific and widespread human rights abuses on all sides of the conflict. It described mass graves of more than 500 bodies outside Kinshasa and cited reports of

a recent massacre of at least 250 Tutsis near Uvira in the east of the country.

Mr Kabila has been widely criticised for refusing to talk to the rebels. On his first visit to Europe since coming to power, he has continued to reject direct negotiations and deny allegations of human rights abuses.

Demanding that Uganda and Rwanda withdraw their forces, he insisted: "There are no rebels in my country. They are puppets being used by the invaders."

In a move welcomed by some of the country's opposition, Mr Kabila promised renewed political freedom this week, saying he would "liberalise" political activities on January 1 and allow the formation of political parties.

While no formal meetings between the warring parties are planned during the summit, French and EU officials are determined to get them round the negotiating table.

As well as Mr Kabila, the presidents of Rwanda, Uganda, Zimbabwe and Namibia are in Paris, as are the Angolan defence minister and Chadian foreign minister.

Rwanda's president, Pasteur Bizimungu — who with Mr Kabila and Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe will meet the French president, Jacques Chirac, tomorrow — has said he is willing to talk.

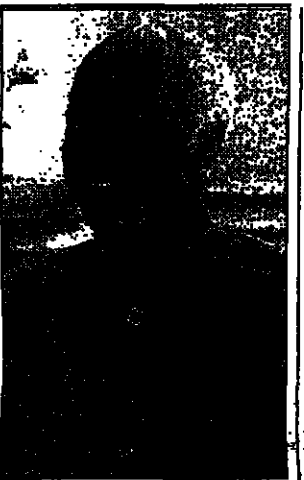


Kabila arranges his scarf before a news conference yesterday at which he denied allegations of human rights abuses

PHOTOGRAPH: YVES HERMAN

## Zimbabwean flees sodomy trial

## Child divers and coral reef abused



Rev Banana: Fleed Zimbabwe a week ago as his sodomy trial neared its end

Barry Baxter in Gaborone

**B**OTSWANA police said yesterday they would launch a manhunt for Canaan Banana, the fugitive former Zimbabwean state president found guilty of sodomy.

A Zimbabwean court has issued a warrant for the 62-year-old cleric's arrest after prosecutors said he was seeking political asylum in the neighbouring southern African country.

Reverend Banana was found guilty in Harare yesterday of 11 charges of sodomy, attempted sodomy and indecent assault after a sensational trial which began in June.

"We will start as soon as we get a copy of the warrant,"

Botswana's deputy police commissioner, Edwin Batshin, said. Mr Batshin said earlier that Rev Banana had not presented himself to any police station or to any border authority when he entered the country. "The man is now a criminal and we have the means to extradite him," he said.

A Botswana official said earlier yesterday it was possible that Rev Banana had already left Botswana.

"He did not meet any people in authority nor did he report that he was here. We heard about it through other channels," a presidential spokesman said.

"As far as the president's office knows, he has left the country," he said, adding that Rev Banana had not asked for asylum.

In Harare, the state prosecutor Augustine Chikumbira told the High Court that Rev Banana had left Zimbabwe on November 17 without his passport, which he had surrendered as part of his bail conditions.

Judge Godfrey Chidyausiku issued an arrest warrant and ordered Rev Banana's \$370 bail revoked.

Rev Banana faces an estimated maximum sentence of 22 years in prison. The judge urged defence lawyer Chris Andersen to try to persuade Rev Banana to return to Zimbabwe for sentencing.

The case has deeply embarrassed President Robert Mugabe, who has launched a campaign against homosexuality, describing same-sex partners as "lower than pigs and dogs". — Reuters

Adam Easton in Palawan, south-western Philippines

**H**UNDREDS of children in the Philippines are being forced to work under barbaric conditions doing a type of fishing which destroys coral reefs.

In a country where child labour is not uncommon, and fishing with dynamite and cyanide has already taken a heavy toll on the reefs, human rights groups and environmentalists are campaigning to end the destructive fishing known as pa-aling.

Children as young as 13 are recruited to be divers, although under law diving is considered a "hazardous" occupation and only for those aged 18 or over.

For eight hours a day the divers are forced to dive down 50ft to the reefs, where they scare out the fish using lead-weighted hoses which belch out compressed air.

Many pa-aling operators fish off Palawan, the island known as the Philippines' "final frontier" because much of its environment remains untouched.

Although they had been hired on a 10-month contract, 29 divers including eight minors on a vessel called the F/B Unity hatched a plan to escape after six weeks because of ill-treatment. Junne Cadiente, aged 17, said:

"Sometimes when we made mistakes our supervisors whipped us with a rope almost the size of a wrist. I

was whipped because I misplaced the hose."

"I got sick while at sea. They made me work when I was ill, even though I didn't feel strong enough to work."

Most of the divers were recruited from farming areas which suffered droughts brought on by El Niño. With their crops devastated, the offer of a job and a 3,000 peso (\$45) advance seemed attractive.

The labour secretary, Bienvenido Legnesma, said some fishing operators accused of mistreating minors have had criminal charges filed against them.

However, many divers are too scared to give evidence, said Grizelda Mayu-Anda of the Environmental Legal Assistance Centre. "The boat owners usually have

powerful backers. One fishing company is part-owned by a former congressman. The divers are afraid their families will be harassed or killed if they testify," she said.

"Pa-aling is very destructive because it's very efficient," said Rodolfo Reyes, a research associate at the International Centre for Living Aquatic Resources Management. "It just sucks up everything that's in its way. It's impossible for a reef to replenish the fish taken out at that rate."

The case of the 29 escaped divers has prompted congress to call for an investigation which could lead to tougher legislation. At present most fishing operators who hire minors get a small fine and temporary closure.

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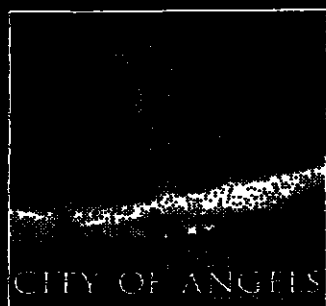


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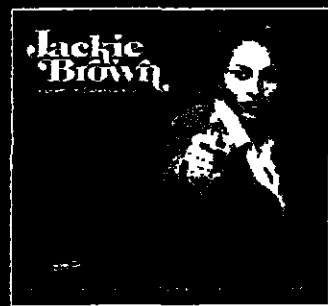
Ernest Jones

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Reinette l'Oranaise

## Songs of exile

**R**Einette l'Oranaise, who has died aged 80 in Paris, was the golden voice of the Andalusian music of a lost Algerian epoch, when that country was suffused by multi-ethnic, cultural and religious diversity.

She was born Sultana Daoud, in Flaret, in the west of Algeria, of Jewish parents — her father was a rabbi — who had emigrated from Morocco. Tragedy and exile were part of Reinette's life.

Smallpox left her blind at two. Fearing for her future, her mother asked Saoud Medioni, also Jewish, to teach her music when she was 12, and she learned to write and read in Braille. Medioni took her under his wing, nicknamed her Reinette (Queenie). He taught her all he knew of the rich Andalusian musical heritage that the Spanish Jews and the Moors had preserved after the Spanish Christians conquered the Iberian Peninsula. It was perhaps the only valuable baggage which they had taken with them in exile to north Africa.

She learned to sing the *hauri*, a popular Andalusian musical style, and play instru-

ments including the *mandolin* (mandolin), the lute and the *derbouka* (north African drums). She also memorised countless *qasidas* — long poems written by Andalusian and north African poets.

In the 1930s, Reinette worked with Saoud in his cafe in the Derb el Lihoud, the popular Jewish quarter of Oran, where the old shops and market stalls still bear the names of their Jewish and European owners. Saoud and Reinette also played short but risqué musical sketches and duets that disturbed the moral code of the time — and which drew full houses across Algeria.

Men queued to see this woman sing love poems and play the lute, in a society where women were completely covered, and walked a few steps behind their husbands and guardians.

Sadly, her association with Saoud was brutally ended during the second world war, when he fell into the hands of the Nazis in Marseille. He never came back from a concentration camp. She owed her life to him, as he sent her back to Algeria a few days before his arrest. She never fully recovered from his disappearance.

After the war, Reinette moved to Algiers. There she became the student of Mohamed Belhocine. Driven by the desire to be recognised as a serious musical artist, Reinette taught herself classical Arabic and classical Andalusian musical works.

She had her own regular concert on Algiers radio, accompanied by the orchestra of Hadj Mohamed El Anka, the master of the *shaabi* musical style in Algeria.

**H**ER career seemed to be progressing smoothly toward national and international acclaim, as she also gave concerts in France. But then came the Algerian war. The conflict and its aftermath radically changed the country. Reinette, like many in her Jewish community, found herself among those who had to leave the country in which her ancestors had lived free and respected. The Algerian nationalists never forgave the Jewish community for taking up the French citizenship offered by the decree that gave them voting rights in 1970.

In France after 1962, Reinette's artistic activity dwindled to the local Jewish community's cultural circuit, singing for weddings and bar mitzvahs. She seemed on the way to a quiet retirement, and perhaps oblivion, living discreetly with her husband, Georges Layani.

Then in 1984, a French paper ran an article on the lives of Arab-Jewish women singers. The interest expressed in her by Radio Beur — for second-generation north African immigrants — revived her career. First came a concert at a small Paris theatre, accompanied by Algerian and Jewish musicians, including the nephew of Saoud. Then a series of tours followed, culminating at the Olympia in Paris in 1989. Her album, *Mémoires*, won the big award of the Charles-Cros Academy in 1995.

Reinette died content. She had the last word in her life-long fight against her meagreous fate, and above all, she was reconciled, albeit late, with her beloved Algeria.

Abdenour Killo

Reinette l'Oranaise (Sultana Daoud), singer, born 1918; died November 17, 1998



The music of a glorious multi-ethnic past... Reinette l'Oranaise sings and plays

Doug Wright

## A googly bowler's ballet

**A**S a leg-break and googly bowler, Doug Wright, of Kent and England, who has died aged 84, could be unplayable, exasperating and engaging. He was also cruelly unlucky. Few spinners beat the bat, missed the stumps and extended the reflexes of wicket keepers more often.

He took 2,056 wickets in a career from 1928 to 1967, and played 34 times for his country. His Test record of 108 wickets at an average of just under 43 was disappointing. He could be wayward in length and therefore expensive — but his devotees were many, and famously included Sir Don Bradman. "In my first Test against Australia," Doug recalled, "I bowled a googly to the great batsman. It popped up and came straight back to me. And I dropped it. Oh dear me!"

On that debut at Trent Bridge in 1928, he still bowled Jack Fingleton with his fourth ball, finishing with four for 153. "Fingo", like so many, was left to give Wright a wry, admiring look. Wright

was genuine medium-pace. He made the ball arc and fizz, and he did it all with a minimum of emotion, almost as if he was back copying out the wills in a neat hand at the solicitor's office where he began work. He was universally liked and he never harboured a grievance about a dropped catch.

That approach to the stumps is remembered, nearly as much as his accurate finger-twisting skills. It was unique within first class cricket. The stuttering Irish jig of big steps and little steps, of unpredictable arm movements and a final dignified leap, had been gradually developed. "I suppose it looked a bit silly, but it worked for me. I used to run-up straight, though that seemed to give me too low a trajectory."

Ten times he took 100 wickets in a season, with 1947 his best (177 at 21.12). Just before the war, at Bath during festival week he twice bamboozled the Somerset batsmen to take 16-80 from the match; it was even claimed that Arthur Wellard was dropped four

times in five balls off Wright. Then, in Bristol, in a display of pace and beguiling spin, he mesmerised Gloucestershire, finishing with nine-47 and a hat-trick. That Gloucestershire still reached 284 was attributable almost solely to Bradman's undeviating 153. Many said it was his finest innings. "I don't remember much about the game, but I know Wally muddled everything," said Wright.

Wright didn't even start as a leg-spinner. But he was invited to go to Major Faulkner's famous Walsingham Green cricket school, where the South African coach was sufficiently impressed to take Doug on as an office boy with plenty of spare time to go into the nets. Here he was taught the slow bowler's craft; he was distraught when Faulkner committed suicide, and he used to recall the poignant morning when he arrived for work and was quietly told, without explanation, to go home again.

He played his first match for Kent in the shadow of

Tich Freeman and went on to become his county's first professional captain, though maybe too amiable for the job. There were seven hat-tricks from him in a career of extraordinary peaks and comic contortions.

Maybe his Test record was hardly distinguished; yet the victims from Bradman downwards bear witness to his unusual spinning talents. And it is significant that on the ill-advised, edgy 1946-47 tour to Australia, Wright took 51 wickets, by some measure England's most successful bowler. By nature, he kept out of the politics and got on with the cricket.

After retiring as a player he was cricket coach at Charterhouse, and was still helping out at the County Ground in Canterbury into his seventies.

Wright leaves a wife, son and daughter.

David Foot

Douglas Vivian Pearson Wright, cricketer, born August 28, 1914; died November 11, 1998.

A Country Diary

**BENACRE, SUFFOLK.** While we walked along the low cliff edge at this National Nature Reserve, a flock of 30 birds rose almost at our feet. As they climbed in unison, their bellies flashed a silvery-white. Then they turned and instantly disappeared as they crossed the open tundra of the Arctic, and when its freezing conditions drive them southwards in autumn, they occupy the saltmarsh and shingle of the British coastline. Although they are normally well-camouflaged, close views reveal a bold black gorget and a bandit's dark facial mask. In spring, they add to these details tiny head-tufts, from which they take their name.

This year has probably been one of the best for shore larks in recent decades, with flocks like the one at Benacre sprinkled along the East Anglian coastline. But if you want to see them, don't delay. As winter closes in, the birds often move again for the milder shores of France, Belgium and Holland.

MARK COCKER

CORRECTIONS AND CLARIFICATIONS

A PRODUCTION problem has meant that some copies of today's Friday Review are imperfect on Page 3, with practically blank faces in the photographs. Apologies if you have one (an imperfect copy, that is).

INCORRECTLY. It was Thomas Heywood (not Keywood). The name of the character addressed is not Sisley, but Sisly.

NEWNHAM College, is in Cambridge, not Oxford (a column, Page 24, yesterday).

It is the policy of the Guardian to correct errors as soon as possible. Please quote date and page number. Readers may contact the office of the Readers' Editor by telephoning 0171 235 9559 between 11am and 5pm, Monday to Friday. Surface mail to Readers' Editor, The Guardian, 119, Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER. Fax: 0171 235 9557. E-mail: reader@guardian.co.uk

Birthdays

John Alderton, actor, 58; Prof John Ashworth, chairman, British Library, 60; Rodney Bewes, actor, 61; Collette Brown, chief executive, Personal Investment Authority, 52; Gavyn Davies, economist, 48; Robert Douglas, former newspaper, 55; Robin Givens, actress, 34; Dr Kim Howells, MP, under-secretary of state for trade and industry, 52; Rosaline Kelly, publishing consultant, 76; Verity Lambert, film producer, 63; Sir John Maddox, former editor, Nature, 73; Carolee (Ann) Mailleux, QC, 57; Jill Sandels, fashion designer, 55; Alan Simpson, scriptwriter, 68; Ernie Wise, comedian, 73.

Dorothy Blair

## French under an African sun

**D**OROTHY BLAIR, who has died aged 85, was a remarkable scholar and translator, a pioneer of the study of African writing in French and a champion of women's rights to self-expression. She had begun her translations with Birago Diop's *Tales of Amadou Koumba*, and some of her later works, including *The Beggar's Strike* by Aminata Sow Fall and Assia Djebar's *A Sister for Scheherazade*, are now thought of as classics.

In 1976, Cambridge University Press published her pioneering study *African Literature in French*, the first comprehensive survey of the field. She also published the study *Senegalese Literature*.

She was born Dorothy Green, the second child of a poor Jewish shopkeeper in Birmingham, and won a

scholarship to King Edward VI Grammar School for Girls. She couldn't afford to take up a university place at Somerville College, Oxford, and won a scholarship to Royal Holloway College, London University, instead. Her love for the French language and its literature, confirmed by a brief stay as an au pair in France, was her escape route from youthful poverty, and she went on to Cambridge to train as a French teacher. There she met a South African doctor, Morris Blair, whom she married in 1939.

In 1940, her husband joined the colonial civil service, and they emigrated first to Rhodesia, then to South Africa. Their children, Hilary, Gabrielle and Jonathan, were born and grew up there.

In 1947, Dorothy became a lecturer in French at the Uni-

versity of Cape Town. In 1953, she moved to the University of the Witwatersrand, completed a doctoral thesis on the modern French poet Jules Supervielle, became a senior lecturer and later, despite opposition, professor and head of the department of Romance languages.

It was during this period that she began to translate and write about the emergent literature of francophone Africa, first in *Darkness and Light*, a pan-African literary anthology, and subsequently in multiracial literary journals such as *Classic and Contrast*.

Léopold Sedar Senghor, poet and president of the newly-independent Senegal, invited her to attend the first Festival of Negro Arts in Dakar in 1963 — and facilitated her travel from apart-

heid South Africa. She also presented a paper at the 1975 inaugural meeting of the African Literature Association of the United States.

When her husband retired in 1977, she was able to leave South Africa. She settled in Brighton, and during the next few years published some 20 translations of francophone African writers, most of them women.

She read conference papers at the Commonwealth Institute and the 1987 national conference of French Studies, on the emergence of women's writing in francophone Africa. This event led to her participation in the creation of the Association for the Study of Caribbean and African Literature in French, of which she was a committee member well into her eighties, and remained honorary



Dorothy Blair... women's writing in a wider world

vice-president. Her colleagues remember her wisdom, diplomacy and untiring energy.

When her secondary lung cancer was diagnosed, she had taken on the translation of the last three volumes of Christian-Jacques' best-selling epic novel about ancient Egypt, *Ramesses*. With her usual courage, lucidity and

humour, she soldiered on. The manuscript was finally completed on her 85th birthday. She had barely three months left to live.

Peter Hawkins

Dorothy Blair, translator and academic, born August 10, 1913; died November 12, 1998

Maj Almqvist Lorents

**S**HE lived her last years alone in a hilltop house near Lake Siljan in Sweden, but a big part of the life of the author Maj Almqvist Lorents, who has died aged 104, belonged in England, a country she loved and admired.

Lorents's book, *England at War*, written after her return to Sweden after a first-hand experience of the second world war, was a celebration of the country and its people. The critics loved it.

In 1940, Lorents had become an active member of the Tuesday Club, a secret Swedish anti-Nazi organisation whose members were journalists, writers and intellectuals — they met in Stockholm every Tuesday. Prince Eugene, the brother of King Gustaf V, was one of many significant people involved. They were critical of the coalition government that favoured both neutrality and the appeasement of Hitler's Germany.

It was through the Tuesday Club that Maj came to London in 1940, as an observer and journalist. Her stay was pro-

longed due to forces far beyond her control. She met many politicians, and interviewed Winston Churchill. She made a difficult and dangerous return to Sweden, taking with her a uniform button she was given by a soldier returning from the British evacuation at Dunkirk. She kept it throughout her life.

As an 18-year-old she had written a book about Ireland and St Patrick. In later years, Lorents — cousin of the United Nations Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld — was also a translator. Indeed, in Sweden, her most famous work was her translation from English of Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind*.

After the war, many of her days were spent travelling with her late husband Yngve Almqvist, an historian, scientist, and founder of the Institute of Foreign Politics in Sweden.

Vanessa Asell

Maj Almqvist Lorents, author and translator, born January 15, 1894; died November 13, 1998

Niklas Luhmann

## There is such a thing as society

**T**HE task was a theory of society, and the timeframe was 90 years. That was how Niklas Luhmann, who has died aged 70, once described his research project, when he was appointed the first professor of sociology at West Germany's then new Bielefeld University in 1969.

In pursuit of that task, Luhmann became, as one colleague commented, a one-man theory factory. He produced more than 30 books, more than 150 journal contributions. He not only challenged the Frankfurt School philosopher and sociologist Jürgen Habermas's critical theory, but out of his critique, developed a theoretical system now acknowledged to be a modern classic reading in sociology.

Luhmann belonged to the *sozialwissenschaft* generation, which meant that he was old enough to have taken a minor part in Nazi Germany's last-ditch second world war efforts, and

was held as a teenager as a prisoner of war. He had been in the family and, on his homecoming, graduated in law and worked in Lower Saxony's public administration between 1954 and 1962, when he became a lecturer at the *Hochschule für Verwaltungswissenschaften* in Speyer. His early publications focused on law and administration.

In 1960-1, he had spent a year at Harvard University, where he had encountered Talcott Parsons, the renowned American sociologist. This meeting, coupled with his already intensive preoccupation with philosophy, history and early functionalist theory, led Luhmann into a career as a sociologist. He qualified on the fast track at the University of Münster, and then in 1969 went to Bielefeld.

There he launched what became his lifelong systems theory project, and became known as one of the most industrious sociologists of recent times. Most of his published material spelt out the valuable information that his famous *zettelkasten* (file cards in a box system) contained — hence the reader's impression of reading one long book in many instalments.

Yet Luhmann's work was not solely an extension of one original idea. He never dryly spelt out systems theory in *Social Systems* (1984/English translation 1996), *Ecological Communication* (1986/1989) or his last book and magnum opus *Die Gesellschaft der Gesellschaft* (The Society of Society).

Anyone interested in the great debates between Habermas and Luhmann believed that, after Habermas published *Theory of Communicative Action* and Luhmann produced *Social Systems*, everything that had to be said

had been said. But Luhmann surprised everybody with *Die Gesellschaft der Gesellschaft*. In it, he addressed the problem of what the word "society" really means.

In the book, Luhmann treats sociology as a self-descriptive enterprise where sociology itself is just one of the many constitutive parts. It thereby re-enters society not with a monopoly of interpretation, but merely as one of the possible vantage points.

Luhmann's sociology truly knows no secularised gods such as "reason" or "emancipation", and so it is also more pluralistic. His approach is more democratically founded than that of any of his contemporaries.

Niklas Luhmann's contributions will be sadly missed, since, as the newsweekly *Der Spiegel* observed, there is at present not much in sociology between number-crunching and fashionable essayism.



Luhmann... the many books which read as one

Luhmann's work has been translated into all major languages and is discussed throughout the world. For a newer generation of sociologists, he became an iconoclast within his own lifetime. And without his contributions, preparing sociology for the 21st century will be much harder.

Andreas Hess

Niklas Luhmann, sociologist, born December 8, 1927; died November 6, 1998

Death Notices

**CRONE.** Norma Heath (née Heath), wife of late Professor Ralph Crone, loved and loving mother to John, Peter and the late David, died peacefully at home, London, aged 84, on Monday, November 23rd at St John's Wood Church, London NW8. Family cremation followed by service at St John's Wood Church, London NW8 at 4.00pm, Friday December 4th. Family flowers only. Donations if wished to N.S.P.C.C. advised. On her death Mrs Crone leaves a daughter, Elaine, and a son, David, both successful. Elaine, formerly a Fellow of Wingham College, Oxford. David, husband of Linda, lives and lectures in English, Trinity College, Cambridge. Funeral 3rd December, 2pm at Trinity College Chapel. All welcome. Enquiries and donations in the privacy of the funeral home, Trinity College Chapel. Memorial service planned for the new year.

In Memoriam

**SEABURY.** Kenneth, 77/11/1920 to 13/11/1998. Still missing your emotional, physical and spiritual love and support, your compassion, your Christian faith, your gentle voice, your gentle smile, your gentle touch, your gentle heart, your gentle soul, your gentle spirit, your gentle presence, your gentle love, your gentle life, your gentle death. There will never be anyone like you, Ken.

Births

**FRANCIS.** Born on 17th November 1998. New baby and son, daughter, Anabel Rosa, a sister for Alexander. At 10pm your grandparents telephone 0171 715 4247 or fax 0171 715 4247 between 8pm and 5pm Mon-Fri.



# Analysis Britain's big events



At it again  
12



PHOTOGRAPH: SIMON BRUTY

## The games peoples play

If Barcelona (above) and Paris can do it, so can Manchester, London... and all the other contenders for high-profile competitions being given government backing. **Vivek Chaudhary** asks, why the sudden enthusiasm for bringing home the crown jewels of sport?

**T**HE Central Council of Physical Recreation (CCPR) has been mounting a conference this week on Britain's role in world sport. There has been wide agreement among the sports people, politicians and officials attending the event: international sport is good for the country. But the teasing question is how much and what kind of profile ought Britain to cut as host and organiser. The Sports Minister, Tony Banks, seems to have few doubts. He reiterated the Blair Government's commitment to bringing Britain the Big Event.

This pledge, to make Britain a player, was made by Tony Blair before the election in Labour's manifesto for sport. "And if we are to make the most of the wealth of talent we have in this country, we must be ambitious as we strive to put Britain back on the sporting map. This is why a Labour government will provide full support for British bids to host international sporting events. When it comes to sport, the great danger is not that we aim too high and miss the target, but that we aim too low and reach it."

Well, the Prime Minister along with sports fans around the country can rest assured. The sports/government machine is certainly aiming high, so high in fact that in the next few years a number of major international sports events will come to Britain, and there will be a series of tub-thumping campaigns to bring yet more of them to these shores.

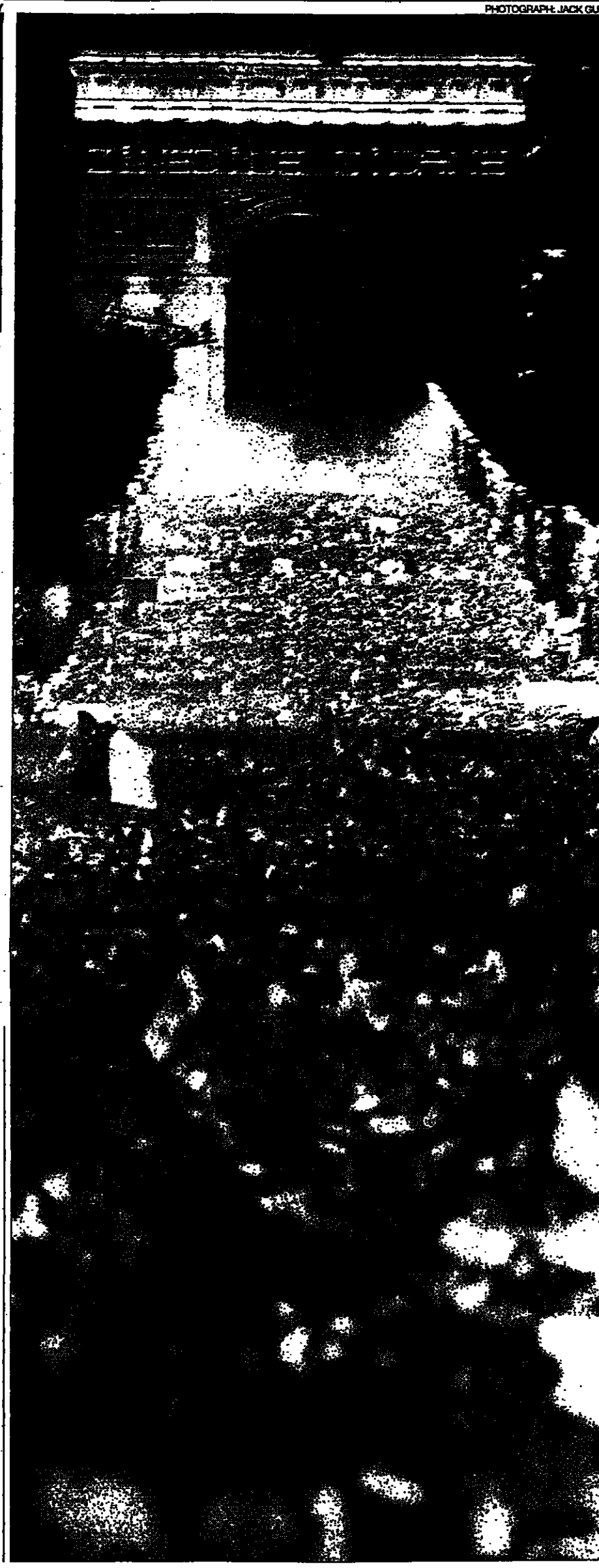
Britain's international sports shopping list includes: the rugby and cricket world cups next year; in 2002, Manchester will host the Commonwealth Games; a bid has been made to host the 2008 World Athletic Championships; the campaign to bring the 2006 football World Cup to England is already up and running (and fast turning into a two-horse race with South Africa) while the British Olympic Association is considering the feasibility of staging the 2012 Olympic Games in London. All projects have government blessing.

The abundance of events that could potentially come to these shores makes for a new situation. The last time an Olympic Games was held in Britain was in London in 1948. Before Euro '96, the last major international football tournament in Britain was

the 1966 World Cup finals. So why the change, and why does the Government feel it important to raise Britain's international sporting profile?

Some argue that these events are a waste of time and money, funds could be put to better use on housing and social services. Just putting together a bid to host the Olympic Games costs somewhere between £10 and £15 million and figures show that in most cases the games hardly cover their costs. The organising committee for the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games has a budget of \$100 million; but the Atlanta Games spent as much as \$700 million and barely broke even.

**T**ONY BANKS takes a rosy view. "Sporting success and hosting international events are very good at boosting the morale of the country. It's a sign of a healthy nation. Britain has been complacent for too long and that is why we have not been getting the events. In the past we were given a lot of prominence on the governing bodies of world sports but that is not the case now and



PHOTOGRAPH: JACK GLEZ

we are having to re-learn the game and get back our influence." Nigel Hook of the Central Council of Physical Recreation adds: "Britain had lost a lot of influence in trying to secure these international sports events but fortunately we now have a government that is willing to back us. These events are good for the country."

From ordinary observation, that seems to be true. Many English people felt good during the England football team's run during Euro '96 and international sporting events are increasingly seen as a vehicle for regeneration, both economic and sporting, leaving benefits for the host community: local and national.

**T**HE 1992 Olympic Games in Barcelona helped to regenerate deprived areas of the city. The previously run-down port area was given a face lift, urban transport was improved and the Catalan capital's world profile was lifted. Following the games, Barcelona has become the seventh most popular venue for conventions in the world, thanks mainly to the city's new buildings. The Olympics eventually served to cushion the effects of the economic downturn which hit Spain soon afterwards. "The Olympic flame has gone out, but we still have this warmth in our hearts", said Pasqual Maragall, who was mayor during the games. "Our greatest mistake would be to discreetly retire with nostalgia." The entire operation to host the games and construct a new stadium and buildings is estimated to have cost the city \$5.7 billion. The organising committee made a modest profit of \$5 million but in the aftermath the local estimate of costs and benefits is decidedly positive.

Organisers of the Manchester 2002 Commonwealth Games are hoping for a similar effect on run down areas. The centre of the games will be in the Eastlands district where a "sports city" is to be built. A new 48,000-seater stadium will form the centrepiece and it could end up becoming the new home of Manchester City football club once the games are over. A new swimming pool complex is also being built and organisers estimate that up to 4,000 new jobs will be created during the building works. James Seligman, chief executive of the organising committee, says the games are "being used as a vehicle to regenerate Eastlands. This is part of a long-term strategy. We don't want to build white elephants. We want to build things that will have a place in the community for years to come which people can use once the games are over."

There is good evidence for this regenerative effect. Organisers of the 2004 Olympic Games in Athens are already overhauling the city's transport system and regardless of the success of the event, the infrastructure left behind can always benefit locals. Business also benefits. Sport is a multi-million pound concern (Rupert Murdoch's would-be involvement with Manchester United makes the point). Sports in Britain employ around 750,000 people and the state receives around £3.5 billion in tax from sports-related venues.

Imagine then, a city that is visited by 1.6 million people over a two-week period, the estimated figure for those who

are expected to attend the Sydney 2000 Olympics. Organisers of the Manchester games estimate that between 500,000 to 700,000 people will visit the city during the tournament. Both tournaments, regardless of whether their organising committees make a profit or not, will generate revenue for hoteliers and local businesses. Euro '96 was a success. It helped to raise the profile of English football (which might translate into increased long term revenues for clubs through television rights). The direct profit was \$38 million and longer-run effects are still being computed. Around 500,000 people visited Britain last year, combining a holiday with watching football, and 300,000 people went on tours of Wembley stadium and Old Trafford.

While the coffers are filled by these mass events, they also generate enthusiasm. "The World Cup in France this summer enthused a people generally apathetic towards football. The multi-racial team was credited with helping to heal some of the country's wounds, when France won the final around 1 million people were estimated to be on the streets of Paris alone. In terms of revenue, exact figures are still not known but numbers visiting the Stade de France are a useful indicator of the tournament's off-the-field success. Since the final on July 12, around 1,500 visitors per day have been visiting it, paying £3.50 a head, helping to make it a healthy tourist attraction.

**D**AVID LUCKES, co-ordinator of the London 2012 Olympic bid, said that the inspirational value of tournaments must never be overlooked. "Major events are not only an opportunity to improve sporting facilities but they also help to attract a whole new generation to a particular sport." "Youngsters see the best athletes in the world competing at close quarters and this helps to inspire them, it makes you want to take up that sport. Hosting the tournament can also help a country work towards success. Australia has been working for the past four years to ensure that it does well in Sydney 2000. Euro '96 was a huge lift for England and helped inspire hundreds of youngsters. In terms of sporting inspiration, hosting a major tournament is a godsend."

Tony Banks has spent much of the past year travelling thousands of miles with Sir Bobby Charlton and Geoff Hurst as part of England's 2006 World Cup bid. The trio have recently returned from Malawi and Cameroon and Mr Banks claims that, even if England fails to secure the World Cup this time around, an awful lot of goodwill will have been left behind. He said: "These events are good for the economy, good for sport and generate a lot of goodwill. They are also about saying to the world 'come and meet us, come and enjoy our hospitality. It is for all these reasons that I think it is right for the Government to back them and try to bring them to this country."

Sources: (1) British Olympic Association 1998; (2) Central Council of Physical Recreation, A sport for all budget 1997; (3) Report by English Tourist Board, 1998. Research: Matthew Keating. Vivek Chaudhary is the Guardian's sports correspondent.

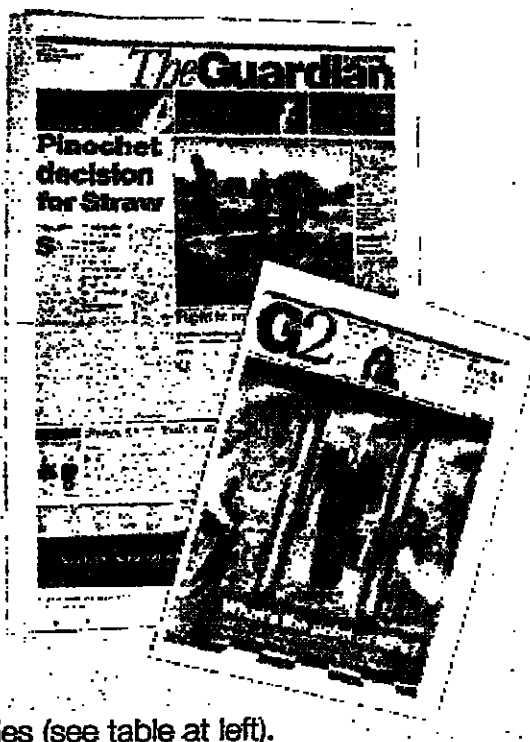
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# Comment

## Diary

Simon Bowers

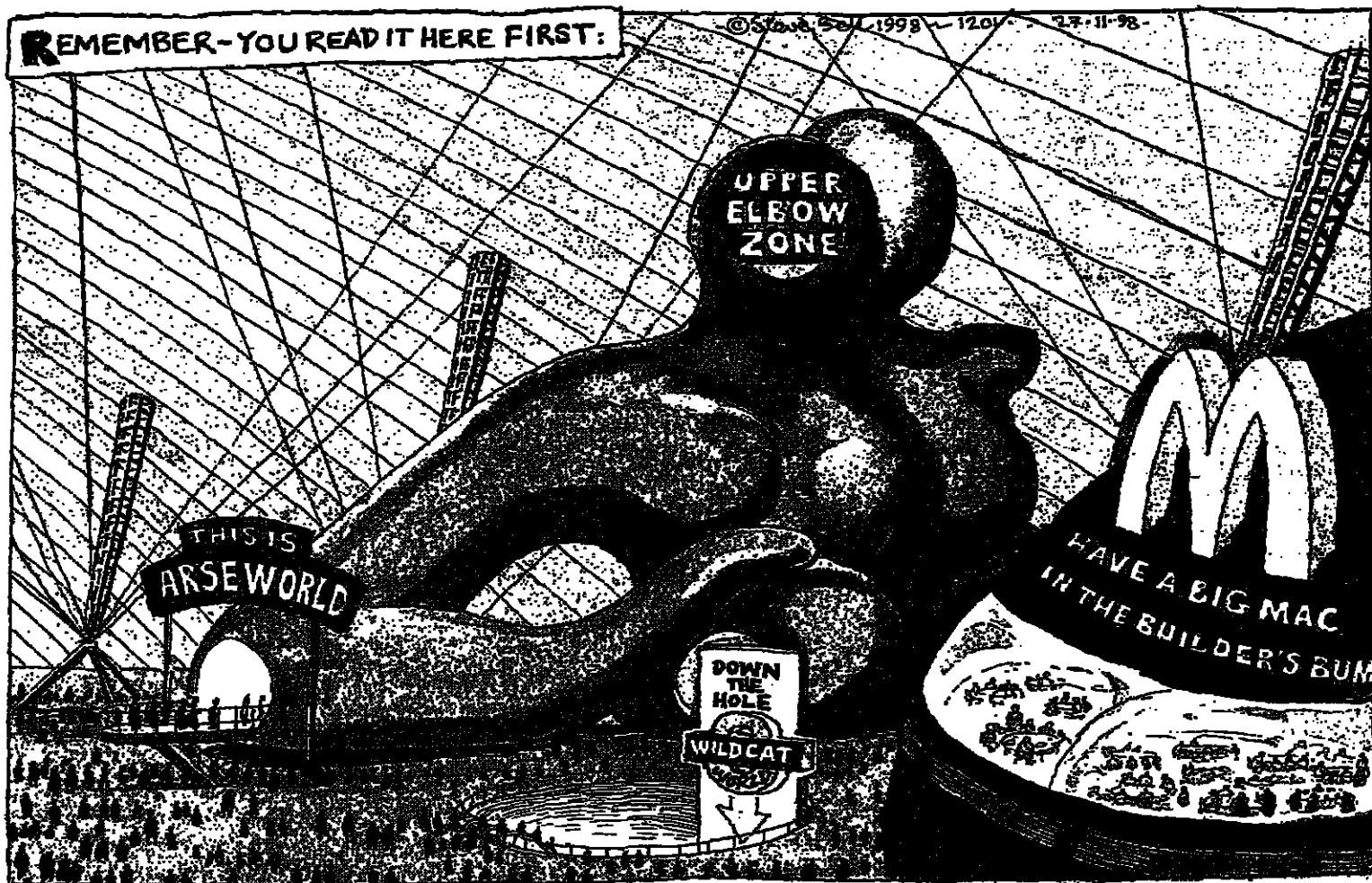
It's the Sun, we ask, being run by a bald man? Yesterday it launched a ferocious anti-hair campaign with the headline: "Stick with your dome for the millennium." A message supported by comments from Ian Wright, Ray Wilkins and Duncan Goodhew, who said: "Hair should be banned. It is dirty horrible stuff. It clogs drains." Can it be true? Have high-flying slaphashes Trevor Eavanagh and David Yelland hijacked Britain's top tabloid in an alopecia conspiracy? "Many fellas," reads the editorial, "shave to match lockless shining examples like Ross Kemp." (Kemp is, of course, closely linked to the Sun's deputy editor Rebekah Wade.) "We say: walk bald and proud. You can get ahead without hair." My God, is there no one out there who can stop this BabyGro-clad George Dawes lookalike?

A SEASONAL tale of goodwill reaches the Diary and warms the very cockles of our heart. A fortnight ago millionaire Treasury minister Geoffrey Robinson found himself sitting patiently in his chauffeur-driven Jaguar having been locked out of the Tower Hill Library in Coventry, the usual venue for his constituency surgery meetings. As he gazed out the frosted window that chilly November night, no doubt contemplating his cruel baiting at the hands of Hague of late, he spied a woman queuing in the cold, waiting for an audience with her parliamentary representative. Thinking pity on the poor soul, the Paymaster General, having assured her he was no threat, asked the woman to join him in the warmth of his humble Jag. She accepted and Geoffrey lent a sympathetic ear to the lady's problems. An American figure he may be, but it is a heartwarming tale. Remember the keys to the lockup next time, Geoff.

FROM Geoffrey we turn to his Treasury minder, Charlie Whelan, and yet another shameful example of technical ineptitude from the BBC. After the corporation's less than favourable radio news coverage of Geoffrey's financial interests on Saturday, Charlie was prompted to ring White City and clarify the finer points of the Paymaster General's position. Unfortunately, however, BBC technical staff, having successfully put his earlier call (2.30am Sunday) through to the news desk, mistakenly braced his second call (3am) over the newsroom tannoy. Implausibly, witnesses swear that, while vociferous in his rebuttal, Charlie chose to avoid the b-word.

INVESTIGATIONS into the case of the Tricycle Theatre document have suffered a setback. We were called earlier this week, you remember, by DC Matt Symonds of Special Branch concerning our report that a confidential looking document had been accidentally dropped at a performance of Tariq Ali and Howard Brenton's anti-Blaire satire, *Ugly Rumours*, at the Tricycle Theatre, Kilburn. Stamped "secret", it listed several names and private numbers in the Cheltenham area — home of GCHQ. Regrettably the document, which was being held at the theatre, has recently been discarded. However, suggested the theatre's artistic director Nick Kent, all was not yet lost. While Brenton council were due to clear the bins yesterday morning, they had not done so. On hearing this faintest glimmer of hope DC Symonds wasted no time in obtaining a search warrant for the theatre. "They'll be returned tomorrow," he said as two eight-foot wheeled bins and a week's worth of rubbish were wheeled away. "Empty."

ANYONE wondering what to buy Pinochet as a late birthday present may want to nip across to the Bourne Methodist Church opposite Grovelands Priory Hospital in Southgate where the senator is staying. For £1.65 you can get the alleged human rights violator a pot of Chilean honey mixed with orange juice. This sweet taste of home is sure to bring a smile to his face, and those with a conscience will be pleased to hear it's a Tradcraft product, so every worker gets a fair wage.



## Straw's hands are tied. Pinochet must be treated like any terrorist suspect

Geoffrey Robertson



THE delivery of the Pinochet judgment in the House of Lords must have seemed to television viewers like the legal equivalent of a World Cup penalty shoot-out, a justice game decided by Lord Hoffman's last goal. Fans at the Pinochet centre screamed, cheerleaders attacked British journalists and hurled imprecations at the judge's wife, while from the commentary box Harold Pinter declared a new-found faith in British justice. But the real victor was international human rights law, a doctrine which may have more shocks in store for the general.

What the judges did, simply and rigorously, was to apply to Pinochet the precedent first set at Nuremberg, and later endorsed by international conventions ratified by Britain and Chile and most other nations. It has been consistently approved by the Inter-American Court, which sits in Costa Rica to lay down law for most of Latin America. This mass of authority supports the rule that there can be no immunity for "crimes against humanity" — crimes of such blackness that they do not admit of human forgiveness. They comprise the ordering, on a widespread and systematic basis, of kidnapping, torture or summary executions. Pinochet does have immunity for all acts done whilst exercising the functions of a head of state. But since international law does not recognise the commission of crimes against humanity as a function

of a head of state, he has no immunity in respect of orders he personally gave for the systematic kidnapping, torture and murder of thousands of suspected opponents. For this reason, Spain's application to have him extradited for trial should proceed.

Why then, has the Home Office asked the Court for a delay so that political representations may be considered? The rule in international law that there can be no immunity for crimes against humanity is designed to prevent dictators from escaping justice by the application of political pressure. The Inter-American Court has on this basis invalidated amnesties and pardons given under duress to members of juntas and death squads and the statute of the International Criminal Court (which Britain approved in July) says that crimes against humanity cannot be made the subject of immunities or time-bars.

"Compassion", equally, is no option for the Home Secretary, unless he is satisfied on medical evidence that the general is at death's door. It was irresponsible for the leader of the opposition yesterday to call on him to exercise it without such evidence. By definition, the only "compassion" that can be shown to a perpetrator of a crime against humanity is at the best of his victims.

That Pinochet should now be dealt with according to law is a result that follows from the Extradition Act itself. Under Section 7 (4), the Home

Secretary's discretion at this stage is very limited — he should comply with the Spanish request and set proceedings in motion "unless it appears to him that an order for the return of the person concerned could not lawfully be made". The House of Lords has decided that an extradition order can lawfully be made (because he has no immunity) and there is no present evidence that the request is bound to fail. The section gives no power to take political considerations into account.

### Under the law, 'compassion' is no option for the Home Secretary

count, so any decision to release Pinochet might be overturned by the High Court.

That means the general must be treated like any other terrorist suspect whose extradition is sought by a friendly European country. He will no doubt argue — all the way to the House of Lords — that his crimes are "political" and there would be some irony if it turned out that Pinochet was granted a friendly defence which has, historically, provided asylum for anarchists and anti-fascists.

The law entitles the general to apply to the High Court for a discharge if he can show that it would be unjust or

oppressive to send him to Spain — or if the accusation is not made in good faith or cannot fairly be tried because of the passage of time. Since it is far more suitable for these questions to be decided by judges rather than politicians, the Home Secretary would be well advised to let the proceedings take their ordinary course. The only basis for political intervention before they are completed would be if the British Government managed to secure Spain's agreement to have the trial heard by an ad hoc international tribunal. As Lord Slynn, one of the dissenting judges, was first to point out, this would be a much more satisfactory solution than returning him to face proceedings in Chile (where, because of the amnesty he extracted in 1980 as the price of allowing democracy, he will never be put in jeopardy).

It is difficult to see what purpose will be served by the Home Office request to delay the decision for a further week. This will, however, have the result that General Pinochet will stand in the dock of Bow Street Magistrates Court on December 10, 1998 — 50 years from the day when the United Nations proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. There would be no more potent symbol of hope for the future of humankind.

Geoffrey Robertson QC is author of *The Justice Game*, and the forthcoming *Crimes Against Humanity*.

Canada made a mess of its second chamber. Will we?

## Life after heredity

Meg Russell



AMONG Western democracies there is just one parliamentary chamber which is wholly appointed — the Canadian Senate. It can therefore help us to predict what lies in store, if Labour succeeds with its plan to abolish hereditary peers.

Canada's two oak-lined parliamentary chambers are housed in a Victorian neo-gothic building, one upholstered in green and the other in red. The lower house — the House of Commons — is elected. When it came to the membership of the upper house — the senate — in the absence of a Canadian aristocracy, the next best thing was agreed: a wholly appointed house.

The Canadian upper chamber is nominally one of the world's most powerful. When it was designed, its model, the House of Lords, had unlimited power to reject legislation from the commons. In Britain these powers were subsequently reduced to those of delay, but the Canadian Senate retains its full teeth. It may challenge the lower house on almost any issue, and a clash between the houses may only be resolved by appointing additional senators on the government side.

This notionally powerful senate is, however, timid in practice. The reason for this is its appointed basis. In the early years it challenged the commons freely, but as time wore on its lack of democratic mandate became a stigma.

LIKE the House of Lords it is divided for inaction. If it complies with the government, but faces howls of outrage if it dares challenge the elected house. When a stubborn senate forced an election in 1988, calls for its reform, or even abolition, were widespread. Consequently senators concentrate mostly on detailed legislative drafting, and committees of enquiry — jobs they do well, but which tend to be unrecognised or ignored due to poor public perceptions of the unelected house.

The first lesson from Canada is that an appointed house is likely to be weak, due to the public's views on its composition. Centuries with a heredi-

tary chamber will perhaps make the British more tolerant of an unelected house. But the perceived lack of legitimacy if the House of Lords seeks to challenge the Commons will not go away. However, Canada also demonstrates that the appointment mechanism is crucial. The Canadian prime minister makes appointments to the senate, but there is no tradition of party political balance. Prime ministers use appointments purely to boost their senate majority, and most senators are old party faithful — fund-raisers, donors and ex-MPs. Such party patronage greatly increases cynicism about the house. We already have a better system in Britain and the Government has pledged to improve it. This will be crucial to upholding confidence in the transitional house.

Dissatisfaction with the senate in Canada has led to numerous calls for reform. For 100 years there have been proposals to improve the appointments system or move to elections, to change the senate's role in the federal structure or to change its powers. In recent decades initiatives have included government proposals in 1969 and 1978, joint committees of both houses of parliament in 1972 and 1984, a senate committee in 1980 and a royal commission in 1985. Nevertheless there has still been no change.

ONE important reason for the failure to reform is that no favoured solution has emerged, despite a consensus on the need to change. Senate reform has unfortunately become a football, kicked around by Canada's competing provinces as they vie for more power. But national government as referee is not motivated to drive the change, since a reformed house will be a strengthened house, and thus more likely to challenge government and the commons.

The British Government is committed to a second stage of reform, to create a "more democratic and representative" upper house. Canadian experience suggests that this second stage will be essential if we want our upper house to be respected. But it also shows that a long drawn out debate on options, allowing entrenched positions to develop, could result in the process being stalled.

The royal commission will be set up shortly. We must now all engage in the debate about the second chamber Britain needs, and ensure that we get it.

Meg Russell's report, *Lessons From Canada*, is available from the constitution unit, University College London, 0171 504 4877

Margaret Thatcher continues recklessly to re-write her history with the benefit of hindsight

## Her version

Michael White

WHAT is it with Margaret Thatcher? Here is someone who is truly famous, probably the only British politician assured of a niche in world history at the free-market end of this century. She has worked on her myth, travelled endlessly to address the faithful, endowed a foundation, sent her papers to a university. Yet she treats her own reputation with a recklessness that would have cost her the premiership long before the great crash of 1990. This week she has been at it again, trying to get her old friend General Pinochet (are they on Gus and Maggie terms, I wonder?) out of Britain on compassionate grounds.

Leaving aside the suitability of compassion as a criterion for judging such a brutal and unrepentant autocrat, it is always possible to admire courage and loyalty to her allies. In her prime Mrs Thatcher had plenty of both. But the case betrays two less attractive assets. She is sentimental

about people and events, especially if they suit her purpose. Conversely she is also disloyal to those who do not suit her version of history. Thus she calls Pinochet a good friend of Britain's for his help in the Falklands war of 1982.

Yet she must know better than most that the Argentine generals needed a popular cause to protect them from the wrath of their own people. It might have been Chile, but we looked a safer bet. Maggie had just slashed the defence budget, including removal of HMS Endurance from Falklands waters, and ignored a lot of warnings that the General Leopold Galtieri (another soldier with campaign medals only against his own people) planned to invade.

Another year and there could have been no "Gotcha" victory. History has been duly re-written. This week she did it again. In her Telegraph review of Simon Heffer's scholarly work on his hero, Enoch Powell, Lady Thatcher says Powell was right to oppose the Anglo-Irish Agreement signed in 1985.

Many Unionist Tories

thought so at the time, including her loyal aide, Ian Gow. He resigned from the government in protest and later paid the ultimate price, outside the protective loop of government where the IRA was able to blow him up. Dammit, is the woman telling us she can't read?

We saw the same process at work with the 1986 Single European Act. Britain's most passionate anti-federalist (self-proclaimed at Bruges) now says she was misled/deceived on that too. That Geoffrey

### The Falklands was her biggest own goal apart from BSE and the poll tax

Howe! Such a persuasive talker!

Yet it was Margaret Thatcher who put her signature to the fastest conveyor belt (her retrospective phrase) to EU integration, though younger voters would not

know it from recent speeches; any more than they would know she gave Galtieri the green light to invade Port Stanley, her regime's biggest multi-billion pound own goal apart from BSE and the poll tax.

It is all done, of course, to burnish the Iron Lady's mettle. Yet the real Thatcher, winner of three general elections, was a cautious and pragmatic politician, "calculatingly radical" only after her victories, as Chris Patten put it yesterday. Her myth-making does a disservice to the Haguette precisely because it persuades them they lost in 1997 for not being right-wing enough. Beware in reverse.

Generously, we could ascribe her current behaviour to old age, Scotch and that deep sense of betrayal by her own side. Except that, long before she surrounded herself with sycophants and US millionaires, she had this streak. "The government must do something," she used to say at the dispatch box when confronted with an awkward falling, say, higher tax

levels or inflation. But, more than most prime ministers, she was the government. Confronted with her lumpen Prussian insensitivity to

the complexities of the Pinochet case one recalls the Commons day, pre-Falklands, when she lectured Tony Benn about the need sometimes to fight for free-

dom. She and Benn are the same age. In the second world war, he fought and his brother died on active service. She stayed at home.



John G. 1.50



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## Oskar's offence

He's a tax liability

IT is hardly surprising that the run-up to the launch of the euro in January should be a drama punctuated by alarms and excursions, let alone noises off. Yet debate has, in many ways, been remarkably placid. Take the European Central Bank (ECB). There has been a striking absence of dissent about its culture let alone its constitution. One reason for silence is the tight adherence of the French to monetary policy as established by the Maastricht treaty. When Dominique Strauss-Kahn, the French finance minister, was in London recently he was discussing whether the ECB should cleave to a Greenspan-Clinton rather than a Volcker-Reagan line. You don't have to be an aficionado of the United States Federal Reserve to observe that doesn't sound like the Old Labour talk of which the French socialists are sometimes accused by New Labour's young men with mobile phones.

In such an atmosphere the Blairite strategy (if that is the right word for the rhetorical dances executed by Messrs Blair, Brown, Mandelson and Campbell in recent weeks) was softly, softly catches monkey. Labour had seemed to be nudging itself and the country forward into more open acceptance of the inevitability of accession. In such a context even yesterday's forwardness by Commissioner de Silguy about tax harmonisation (one of monetary union's "logics") could have been deflected without any danger of giving Euro-scepticism a gratuitous filip.

But the advent of Oskar Lafontaine has changed all that. An accomplished domestic politician, a policy intellectual with important things to say about globalisation, he has — to put it charitably — cocked things up. Gerhard Schröder could have lived with his (Green) foreign minister's unnecessary excursion into pre-1989 security worries, he could even have smoothed a way through the thickets of Social Democrat tax policy and seen his way through to next month's all-important Alliance for Jobs. But what he has proved unable to do is curtail his finance minister. As a result the coherence of his new administration has suffered badly.

Herr Lafontaine has assaulted the ECB and that holy of holies, the Bundesbank; he wants to rewrite the Maastricht treaty; he has undercut the German presidency of the European Union that begins in January and, lately, has done his best to scupper Tony Blair's abjecting towards-Brussels tactic. Herr Lafontaine's offence is not to give the Sun a pretext for a page of school-room German mockery, it is to confuse German policy and diminish potential for leadership at a critical time. Last week he wrong-footed Gordon Brown. Our Chancellor will have to sup with the Saarlander with a long spoon if the Brownian programme of liberalism-in-one-country-but-don't-let's-rule-out-fruitful-European-co-operation is going to survive.

The Lafontaine danger would be more real if his vaunted relationship with the French, specifically M Strauss-Kahn, had anything in it. As things stand he is widely regarded as a nuisance. That's not because his Keynesian, demand-side policies are necessarily wrong, but because it's not at all clear they are acceptable to his Chancellor and so cannot be realisable on the European scene. There are a lot of sensible things to be said about infrastructural investment,

active fiscal policy, as well of course as the price of money (Herr Lafontaine is right on this) in an inflation-free Europe. And, yes, sooner or later harmonisation of business regimes, value-added tax and the rest have to be discussed. But there are ways of raising such issues that don't frighten the horses. Tony Blair's gradualism is not especially noble but in British political circumstances it may be his and our only option. Oskar Lafontaine is no help.

## The health gap

Priorities must be set

NO ONE shouted louder in Opposition about Britain's widening inequalities in health than Labour. Rightly so. The Conservatives, who in 1981 tried unsuccessfully to bury the Black Report — charting the widening gap — not only refused to tackle them but would not even set long-term targets to reduce them in their belated strategy, Health of the Nation. What was already serious when Black was set up in 1977, has become even more critical in 1998: morbidity variations between the richest and poorest areas are now among the worst in Europe; infant mortality rates within unskilled families are more than twice as high as professional families; life expectancy in leafy suburbs is eight years longer than in poor inner cities. How has Labour responded in office? With extreme caution.

Initially there were some promising moves: a splendid minister for public health, Britain's first; the setting up of the independent inquiry into inequality in health (the Acheson committee) which reported yesterday. But both initiatives were subjected to tight constraints. Our Healthier Nation, the Government's green

paper on public health in February, not only ducked setting national targets for reducing health inequalities but shrank the Tory's 27 general health targets to four. The independent inquiry on health inequalities was told to work "within the broad financial framework of the Government's financial strategy" and specifically instructed that "setting targets concerned with reducing inequalities in health" was not within the inquiry's remit. This was absurd. Similarly, so was bouncing the economist off the committee.

The root cause of our widening health inequalities is simple enough: widening poverty. The proportion living in poverty (below half average earnings) has tripled to 25 per cent of the population in two decades. Of course there are wider causes than just low income — unemployment, bad housing, poor transport, inadequate food, polluted environment, unhealthy living styles — which is why Acheson was right to set out proposals across 11 separate areas. In-work benefits are being improved but little has been done for those who cannot work. Acheson takes up their cause but does not insist on giving them first priority because of the ministerial ban on priorities. He should have ignored the injunction. Ministers would have never dared — after the fuss over the suppression of Black — to censor his supposedly independent report.

category that history should be teacher, not tyrant. "No one should ignore the injustices of the past, or the lessons of history, but we need not be the prisoners of our history." In other words, grievances on both sides must be laid to rest, terrorist prisoners released, tomorrow's "men of violence" given the chance to be today's men of peace. The past is another country, and we no longer wish to live there. Disraeli, in one of his novels, also warned of the dangers of falling prisoner to the past: "Read no history: nothing but biography, for that is life without theory." Mr Blair's pragmatism, indeed, falls squarely into the Conservative tradition. Burke, the father of modern Conservatism, defended stable settlements based on "old violence", arguing that what is achievable and sustainable should take precedence over cold logic and hot ideals.

It is not only in Ireland that history's ghosts are rattling their chains. The latest legal rebuff suffered by former British prisoners of war in a Tokyo court appears to have reinforced their determination to fight for an apology and compensation from the Japanese. "We just want them to wipe the slate clean," said one prominent campaigner, not realising perhaps that that is precisely what the Japanese believe they are doing by refusing to reopen the question of compensation. Mr Blair's dictum will be tested here: he said last summer that "for some [POWs], the scars of the past go so deep they will never heal" and promised to look into the possibility of the British government suing for compensation. And then there is the spectre of General Pinochet: too close in time to be consigned to history; too evil in deed to be permitted redemption. How will Mr Straw deal with his "old violence"? Are there some lines that cannot be drawn, some slates that cannot be wiped clean?

## Letters to the Editor

### No truck with Christmas

THE adjective most used by those who live, work and shop in Newbury to describe how it feels after the opening of the bypass and the absence of juggernauts is "serle". The ghost of Christmas looms past is a most welcome spirit, and the pedestrianisation of the town's main shopping street has ensured that the traffic can never return. David Rendell MP, Lib Dem, Newbury.

RE Sir Clive Thompson's sibilant about "strangling the golden goose with red tape". Surely there should be more anxiety that our captains of industry seem poised to put all their eggs in one bush while simultaneously trying to teach their grandmothers to make omelettes. Louise Chase, Croydon, Surrey.

SIMON Bowers (Diary, November 24) wishes good luck to Californian Dorothea Putente for her inclusion in a new cook book even though she poisoned a considerable number of her B&B guests in the 1980s — could she have been the original cereal killer? John Rees-Jones, Datchet, Berks

GOOD news, we have a genuine cure for baldness (Hairly mice raise hopes for the bald, November 25). It's been tried on mice and works, but it causes cancer. Never mind, better dead than a slap-head, I say. Dave Cass, Grays, Essex

RE the decision of Torquay United to ban shots at goal during pre-match warm-ups for fear of lawsuits from injured spectators (Society, November 25). Does a similar policy already apply at certain other league grounds during play? Richard Brown, Ilford, Essex.

## Now it's up to Straw

FORGET the "pettiness" of prosecuting an ageing tyrant for his crimes. The Labour Party has a choice between going into history as the leader of a universal trend for international justice on which humankind has steadily embarked in the last 20 years, and acting like a third-rate, old-fashioned political coward.

Whatever happens in Chile in the short-term, the prosecution of such an internationally recognised and hated tyrant will pale in comparison with the benefits humanity would harvest from punishing him for his barbarous crimes. The real millennium monument would be to put international justice, once for all, at the centre of our destiny. Claudio Solano, London.

HAVING seen a Labour government continue to provide arms to Chile in the late 1970s on the grounds that their legal advisers told them they must abide by international law, one can only hope the current government once again abides by international law and extradites said criminal forthwith. Dr Mick Wilkinson, Hull.

WILLIAM Hague's statement about the continued detention of Gen Pinochet

is appalling. Chile is still a democracy under siege. For the leader of the Conservative Party to suggest otherwise is dumbfounding.

Pinochet shows no remorse whatsoever. But at long last he may have to face the consequences of his crimes in open court. If so, then he, too, must be brought before the courts in other countries.

There is no such thing as an amnesty under international law, regardless of age or quality. Acting in a judicial capacity, the Home Secretary should take into account the fact that British law incorporated the UN declarations on Human Rights 10 years ago. Let us hope Jack Straw does not take a similar view to Hague and let this monster off the hook. Paul Metz, London.

THE William Hague school of logic dictates that when Saddam Hussein's term as head of state finishes, then he will be safe to come round for a cup of tea. Will Lady Thatcher be doing the pouring? Dr Geoff Meaden, Canterbury, Kent.

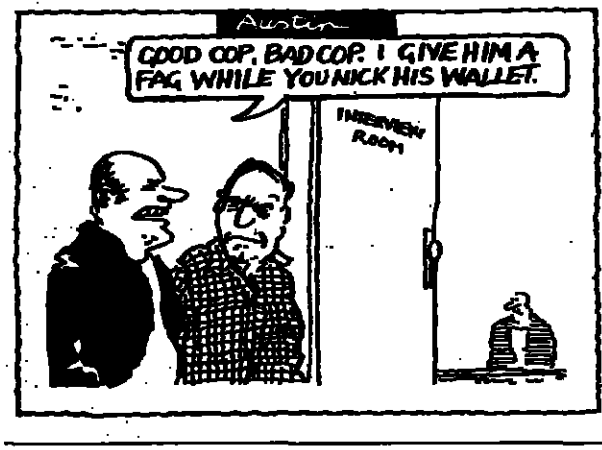
HOW gratifying to see the media celebrating the law lords' judgment against Gen Pinochet. And yet Pinochet

remains an isolated "bad apple" in the public imagination. There have been occasional whispers of the fact that Pinochet was armed and installed by the US (with the approval of Britain). There has, however, been no mention of the fact that this was no Cold War aberration, but was part of our long-standing policy of ensuring that Third World tyrants are on hand to cover the backs of Western businesses as they haul away vast wealth from under the noses of the impoverished and dispossessed. David Edwards, Bournemouth.

LADY Thatcher asks for Gen Pinochet to be sent home on humanitarian grounds but what humanity did he show his opponents? If he decides to fight extradition, I hope he has to pay for it out of his own funds. V Crews, Seckingham.

WONDER if ex-president Botha of South Africa will be travelling anywhere at all in the near future? Richard Gussardo, London.

THE Cambodian couple in my street can't wait for Henry Kissinger's next visit. Mark Smith, Chislehurst, Kent.



### On heaven-scent sex (cont.)

ALAIN Head (Letters, November 23) wrote "if one is always going around in a sanctified state, then one has never experienced the smell and taste of one's partner". I for one prefer my partner to take a daily shower, as I do. I can still taste and smell him, but it is a clean musky aroma in his erogenous zones that delights my nostrils. I offer my partner the same courtesy for our couplings. Unwashed bodies are a sexual turn-off — who could enjoy bad breath, stale sweat in the armpits and rancid smegma on the genitals? Having lived in France for several years, I can attest to the fact that many (but not all) French are disinclined to carry out the most basic hy-

giene, instead attempting to cover it with a hefty squirt of cologne, which fails to do the job. Louise Scoones, Nieuw Vennep, Netherlands.

THANK you for the enlightening article (C'est officiel: The French are smellier than we are, November 21). I had believed that the running battles during the World Cup in France were instigated by vomit stained, lager-fuelled English football hooligans. It is now plainly obvious that the fighting was probably due to the French distaste for finding thousands of English perogons of personal hygiene in their country. T O Farrell, London.

### No minister

RE Alistair Darling's reply (Letters, November 26) to my article about social security reform and means testing. I am happy to acknowledge the Government's increase of child benefit, the minimum wage, the New Deals and changes to taxes and benefits to alleviate the unemployment trap.

But, none of these alter the two problems at the heart of

my article: the role that social insurance and other non-means-tested benefits currently play in rewarding work; and the dangers of changing the social security system to give that job solely to means-tested benefits.

As he rightly suggests, the issue is one of balance. It is a shame he wouldn't say how he viewed that balance. Dr Martin Evans, Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion, London School of Economics.

## Toff at the top

### Lady Littlejohn of Farringdon

AND good riddance! At last the hidebound glass structures of Great (or rather not-so-Great!) Britain are beginning to unravel. After a thousand years of Toff Rule we, the ordinary, decent, hard-pressed people of this blessed island are being allowed to trudge our own affairs, thank you very much.

But don't imagine this great leap towards a true democracy has come without one helluva fight. Frankly, I know how Wat Tyler must have felt all those years ago when he was discovered by King George's henchmen setting fire to those fireworks. Like Wat, Margaret Jay and I have come in for a lot of stick these past few months. But we've fought the good fight — and emerged triumphant.

Margaret and I have been through a helluva lot together. Like Margaret, I was once married to Peter Jay, and coincidentally my mother was a second cousin of Jim Callaghan and an in-law of the Jays. Inevitably, some of our politically motivated enemies claim these links have somehow or other (they never say how!) smoothed our way to the House of Lords.

But let's face up to a few facts, shall we? At the time of

our marriage, Peter was rated the second most intelligent man in Britain, just behind Robert Robinson but well in front of Eric Hobsbawm. In the women's section of the same official top 40, Margaret emerged a strong fifth, between Virginia Bottomley and the late Noddy Gordon, while I, by now widely known that I was rated the second most intelligent woman in Britain, just two points behind the lovely, brainy Tessa Blackstone, but three points ahead of Harriet Harman, bless her. This was before Barbara Follett took up residence in this country, causing all previous lists to be revised.

From then on, the achievements of Margaret Jay and Bel Littlejohn have been unassailable. I left Peter Jay, had a brief, unhappy affair with Robin Cook, and married Derry Irvine on the rebound. Meanwhile, I set up

my own public relations agency, Bel and Friends, which overawed, among other things, Tony B's colour co-ordination during the last election, and I was also president, treasurer and joint-chair of the highly regarded New Labour Secret Commission on Abuse of Privileges, for which I headed exhaustive fact-finding tours of the Caribbean, South America, Cyprus and Juan-Les-Pins.

AND it doesn't take me long to sweat my guts out as spiritual adviser to the New Millennium Dome — culminating in last week's announcement that the Spirit Zone, sponsored by the Body Shop, Sealed and McDonald's, was to feature a virtual recreation of the Garden of Eden, with our 80-metre-high Adam floating on a sea of Peppermint and Anchovy Foot

Lotion, being tempted into eating a 30-metre square box of Chickens McNuggets by Eve, dressed in 20-metre platform heels, 35 per cent cotton skirt and clingy-rib sleeveless purple polo-neck, all by Miss Selfridge.

And let's face it, Margaret Jay's struggle for greater democracy has been every bit as courageous as my own. If he would have been so easy for her to have traded on her husband and her father's names, but instead she chose to go it alone. Entirely through her own efforts she became our First Lady in Washington and then Leader of the House of Lords, using her position to defeat the whole ghastly system of hereditary nobility that has beleaguered our parliamentary democracy for so long.

But at long last, victory is ours. An end to pomp. An end to fancy dress. Power to the People. Earlier this week,

democratically installed as Lady Littlejohn of Farringdon, dressed in a breathtaking Nicole Farhi robe, with hard-wearing shoes by Workers for Freedom, I sat alongside Margaret, Derry, Waheed, Uncle Jim, Charlie Falconer, the lovely Richard Rogers and Lady Tessa B to hear the death-knell sounded for 1,000 years of elitism.

Rejoice! After the State Opening, a select group of us made our way in an informal procession to the River Café, which has recently been awarded its Blue Plaque as the birthplace of new parliamentary democracy. As we raised our glasses to Tony, some people none of us remotely recognised came in and asked for a table. "Full up!" I yelled as they scampered away. "All seats taken!"

Not a bad motto for my new coat of arms, now you mention it.

## School report: rows over ballots and funding

THE gerrymandered electoral roles connected by the grammar schools' ballot regulations are unlikely to reduce — never mind end — grammar schools and one must conclude this is the intention (Grammar power, November 25).

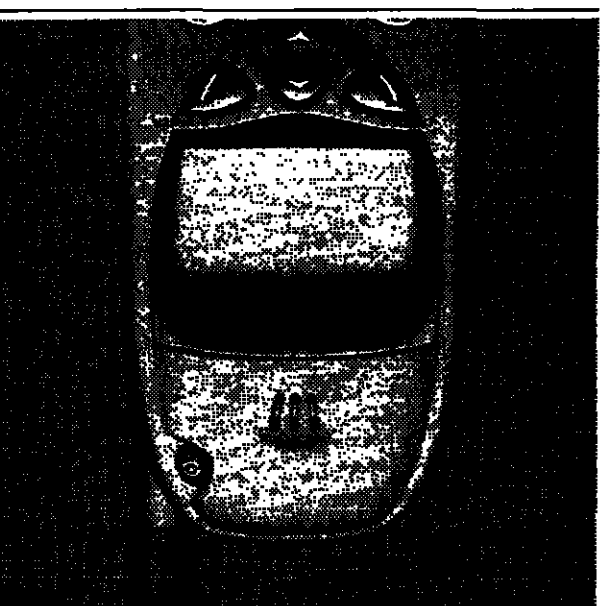
A feeder school ballot for Calderdale would disenfranchise about 25 per cent of parents of primary children in local maintained schools but include the parents at two private schools and at least one school in another district. Those disqualified include 50 per cent of Asian parents and two thirds of parents at schools which feed the Ridings. That school's problems arise substantially from the operation of a layered and all-embracing selective system.

This Labour cop-out is a gutless surrender to the elitist middle classes. The chances of ending selection in Calderdale are now virtually nil. David Helliwell, Halifax.

YOUR article on the amounts allocated to councils nationally for spending on education (For richer or poorer, November 24) omitted some of the most significant factors that more than justify the higher funding per pupil in London. Pupil turnover, refugee status and the extent of special educational needs present enormous educational challenges that undeniably require additional resources if these children are to be given half a chance in life.

In Camden, pupils range from the most academically able to those who are most severely disadvantaged. Ten per cent of our pupils are refugees — in some schools this rises to 40 per cent.

I don't cavil at efforts of areas outside London to maximise their grant. We should, however, acknowledge our varying needs. Cllr Jane Roberts, Chair, Camden Education Committee.



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# Finance Guardian

## Getting shop-shape

### Oates challenge sparked 'messy' interview process



Defender: M&S chairman Sir Richard Greenbury

Alex Brummer  
Financial Editor

**T**HE chairman of Marks & Spencer last night defended the process under which his board selected Peter Salsbury as chief executive but acknowledged it had been messy.

The company had not been able to give a public account of the process because of the "news blackout" demanded by non-executives. "They wanted the process conducted privately, quietly and carefully so that all the executive directors had a chance to have their say," Sir Richard Greenbury said.

Sources say the blame for much of the strife lies firmly on the shoulders of

his deputy chairman Keith Oates, who is to leave M&S at the end of the year. Nevertheless, Mr Oates was publicly praised yesterday for his "outstanding period of loyal service".

Mr Oates had sought to lay claim to the role of chief executive even though the board had formally decided to leave the selection open until July 1999, the company's next annual meeting. The Oates initiative caught the board on the hop because the deputy chairman had been at the board meeting where the decision was made.

As soon as the issue was opened up, Sir Richard flew back from India and met the non-executive directors at Michael House. The non-executives concerned, Sir Michael Perry, Sir Martin

Jacomb, Sir Ralph Robins and Brian Baldock, decided to compress a six-month process of selection into two-and-a-half weeks.

Working around the clock, the Michael House four conducted a series of intense and personal interviews with each of the group's 14 executive directors, with the exception of Sir Richard.

The executive directors were asked who they supported for the post of chief executive, why they supported them and what were their strengths and weaknesses. Some of the directors concerned were seen by the non-executives three or four times over the period. Sir Richard was not involved in the interview process.

It was from this series of

interviews — perhaps the most thorough conducted at a leading British public company — that the nominations committee recommended Mr Salsbury for the chief executive job.

Sir Richard said it had always been his intention — recorded in the minutes of board meetings — that he would split his current role of chairman and chief executive next summer — on his 63rd birthday.

The main puzzle inside M&S is why Mr Oates decided to make his challenge.

At the time that he put himself up for one of the top posts it was already clear that the non-executives did not favour his appointment.

Despite this, it is understood that they waited until

the interviewing and selection process was completed before ruling him out.

However, the public display of his ambitions is thought to have angered the board as a whole, which prides itself on the collegiate style of management represented by M&S.

It is assumed that Mr Oates made his challenge believing that M&S had somehow lost its way in the first six months of the current year and was vulnerable to a takeover. Sir Richard points out that under his stewardship the company's profits doubled to £1.2 billion and the current trading problems are short-term.

Among the reasons for the share price in the first half was the £150 million investment programme...

## Notebook

### Bank weighs up City vs industry



Edited by Mark Milner

**R**IGHTLY or not, the Confederation of British Industry has the reputation of being the organisation that wings on behalf of big business. It is not the pound or interest rates, it is a lack of skilled labour, or too much traffic congestion preventing UK plc from competing with the world's best.

So when the employers' organisation clamours for a half-point cut in interest rates, there will be those who will suggest that industry should be putting its own house in order, rather than looking for help from the Bank of England.

But it would be wrong to assume that the monetary policy committee will dismiss the CBI's call as mere special pleading. The Bank has admitted that it is now putting more emphasis on forward-looking data from surveys rather than backward-looking official statistics — and surveys do not come much gloomier than that from Centre Point yesterday.

Those with long enough memories will detect strong echoes of the problems faced by industry in the early 1980s. An overvalued exchange rate, high real interest rates and a weak global economic environment have again combined to make life very tough for manufacturers — particularly exporters.

What is more, the main reason for the sharp fall in output in the early 1980s was the large-scale destocking by firms finding they simply could not sell goods. Worriedly, the CBI reported yesterday that involuntary stockpiling had been going on for most of this year, at levels not seen since January 1981. The chances of a period of quite savage destocking over the next six months are reasonably high.

Eddie George was giving little away when he gave evidence to the Treasury select committee yesterday, but it is clear that the Bank's hard point cut in interest rates earlier this month was influenced by the pessimism of the CBI's industrial trends survey in October.

Indeed, Adair Turner, the CBI's director-general, was one of the few who predicted the cut would be a half rather than a quarter point.

This time, the CBI says that while it would prefer a half-point cut of rates next month, it would be content with a quarter-point reduction in both December and January.

With inflation dropping in the economy as a whole and falling like a stone in manufacturing, the Bank may be tempted to do just that.

Probably the biggest factor mitigating against a further cut in rates is the level of the stock market. The Bank is unlikely to be happy with the

market at that level. But then, this would not be the first time the City and industry have been out of step.

## Alliance hazards

**T**HE ghost of John D Rockefeller is stalking the halls of the world's oil majors. Ninety years ago, American trust-busters forced the break-up of his Standard Oil empire. Now two of its component parts are planning to reunite.

Exxon and Mobil have more on their minds than reconstructing the house that John built. The bulk of a merger comes at a time when oil prices are on the floor. Exxon is already number one in the US; combined with Mobil it would be the world's largest publicly-traded oil company, and the potential for cost-savings considerable. Two questions spring to mind immediately. Will the two managements be able to negotiate what can only be a hugely complicated deal — and, if they do, will today's regulators be more generous than their counterparts early in the century?

As to the first, some analysts at least reckon the chances are no better than 50/50. Both companies are big enough not to have to worry that they might be missing out on huge, expensive, exploration projects because they are too small. The deal, if it did happen, would be driven by low world oil prices. The overlap looks tricky, and defensive thinking may not be the most secure basis for such a grand alliance.

As to the second question, the industry's regulators will be taking a long, hard look at any deal, and would be certain to demand asset disposals on a scale which the two protagonists might find difficult to swallow.

Even so, they are unlikely to be quite as worried as the trust-busters who broke up Standard Oil. Mobil and Exxon have a market capitalisation of \$238 billion (£142 billion) — and they are only part of the old Rockefeller empire.

## Size counts

**N**OT ALL mergers come out of the mega-bracket. Contrast Wolverhampton & Dudley's £52 million bid offer for Marston, Thompson & Evershed with the Exxon-Mobil combination.

Yet oddly, size seems to count for more in the Midlands than it does at Exxon-Mobil. Wolverhampton & Dudley argues that the combined group would have 20 per cent of the regional market, giving it more clout than the component parts while the pledge to keep the Marston brewery open appears to protect customer choice — though the deal will have to be paid for in job-losses.

For Marston shareholders, Wolverhampton & Dudley's strongest argument appears to be the relative simplicity of its cash and shares bid, compared to Marston's plans to securitise its tenancies. Losing another regional brewer, however, would be sad.

Dan Atkinson

**M**ARKS & Spencer yesterday moved to draw a line under recent boardroom battles as new chief executive Peter Salsbury pledged he and chairman Sir Richard Greenbury would be able to work in harmony. "It's not a fight... it needs to work... Part of my success will be his success and vice-versa."

Sir Richard will lose his executive role in the shake-up which, for the first time, separates the positions of board chairman and chief executive. Mr Salsbury said of Sir Richard: "He has to learn to be a good non-executive chairman. He's very open about it."

The main casualty of the shake-up — finally approved at a board meeting on Wednesday — was deputy chairman Keith Oates, whose pushing of the issue of Sir Richard's successor earlier this month triggered turmoil at the top. He had supposedly wanted the chief executive position for himself. Mr Oates is taking early retirement in January.

The appointment marks an end to a damaging period of instability. Concerns about the group had started when it reported a 23 per cent drop in half-year profits.

Sir Richard was on holiday in India when he heard reports that Mr Oates was attempting to take over the chief executive's role behind his back. Reportedly furious at the attempt, he rushed back to London for emergency meetings with the board, the last of which was held yesterday afternoon.

Mr Salsbury said yesterday: "Inevitably we were going to have a lot of pain... it's very uncomfortable". Staff had been affected, said Mr Salsbury. "They've hated it and I don't blame them. Not only have they been getting comments from the customers, but they're proud of the company."

Mr Oates, aged 56, said yesterday: "I congratulate Peter Salsbury on becoming chief executive. I am disappointed to be retiring early from



Suits you, sir... Peter Salsbury tries on his new mantle as chief executive of Marks & Spencer

PHOTOGRAPH: PAUL HACKETT

Marks & Spencer after nearly 15 years, but I wish the company success in the future and assure it of my continuing unquestionable loyalty."

Mr Salsbury said that M&S was for the first time pairing a non-executive chairman with a chief executive and this was a "signal of a change".

It was no longer possible to embody M&S in one person, he said. The group was changing, "but it's not a revolution".

Planning for a successor to Sir Richard when he stands down in mid-2000 was "ongoing", he said, adding that M&S was "not going to hang around and wait too long".

No improvement in trading was expected in the second half of the current year, he said, but "we gird our loins... and get at it".

Asked if he were not merely a more even-tempered version of the notoriously short-fused Sir Richard, and someone associated with the old

regime, Mr Salsbury said he was unashamed of his long service at M&S, with experience in buying, personnel and stores.

In the short term, Mr Salsbury has inherited a plan to increase M&S's capacity by a third over two years. This would mean bigger stores in Britain which, in turn, would make it more of a challenge to communicate with customers.

There would be a step-by-step review of strategy: "We're not afraid of change".

Among Sir Richard's new duties would be that of an international ambassador for the group, he said.

Mr Salsbury said M&S would continue to exploit its financial-services business, built up by Mr Oates.

Of the group's refusal to accept credit cards, he said the stance was "acceptable so far", and that there were no plans for a change. "We've never stopped looking at it," he said.

Mr Salsbury was more

relaxed about criticisms of M&S's fashion range.

Reaction to the current season's clothes was not very different from what it had been in previous seasons, he said, promising that the spring lines would be colourful and attractive.

Commenting on national and international competition, he said: "It would be foolhardy to suggest it's going to get easier." M&S, he said, was both financially strong and efficient.

## 'Meek' Salsbury inherits top post

Roger Cowe reports on how a late developer quietly captured the prize in race to head UK's leading retailer

**P**ETER Salsbury is a shy, anonymous executive who has spent his working life at Marks & Spencer.

That would make him the perfect candidate to take the reins at Britain's leading retailer in normal times, but his lack of international experience and unassuming style led some board members to conclude he was not the man to restore the company's self-confidence.

The 49-year-old has won the day through a combination of his chief rivals falling out of the running and the apparent backing of Sir Richard Greenbury.

Mr Salsbury earned his spurs in womenswear. He joined the graduate training scheme in 1970 after gaining a degree from the London School of Economics. After the obligatory three years working on the shop floor he began his head office career

as a merchandiser in ladies' coats.

His early career was undistinguished but at the age of 33 he was given an opportunity to make a mark as the executive responsible for the new footwear group.

One former colleague said he suddenly discovered ambition. "He was a late developer. He just woke up one morning and decided he could do it, and decided to go for it."

The custody of the burgeoning shoe business won approval from his masters and through the 1980s he was given wider responsibility in the growing business outside the two traditional strongholds of clothes and food. He added home furnishings to his portfolio and subsequently kitchen equipment and other "homeware" products.

Mr Salsbury was made a divisional director — the 30-strong level immediately be-

low the board — in 1986 and came on to the board four years later at the relatively youthful age of 41. Four years ago he joined the quartet of joint managing directors from whom the successor to Sir Richard was almost certain to be chosen.

But until March of this year, when the four pretenders' portfolios were shuffled, he had no exposure to the group's growing international operations. Nor has he worked in the food business seen by many as the group's most significant problem in the medium term.

"The group's long-term strategic problems require a broader vision than Salsbury has got," one City analyst said this week.

Another said: "He has no visibility externally. He is

closed to the outside world so far as I can see."

Like many M&S bosses, the new chief executive is not well known outside the company. But he is regarded as a competent manager if not a sparkling personality.

His shyness with people he does not know well has attracted descriptions as "a wet blanket" and "grey man".

"Some regard him as a yes-man, but you have to be in M&S. He has never done anything radical, but that is not what M&S is like. The trick is to deliver, and he has done that."

As a career M&S manager, he will not be the breath of fresh air that some believe the company needs. But he does have a different style to Sir Richard, who is a hands-on manager.

Mr Salsbury is regarded as a delegator who will strip away much of the head office bureaucracy needed to support the traditional controlling role of the M&S chief executive.

The question is whether he will have a free hand to do that while his predecessor still sits at the head of the board.

people, with a good analytical mind and an ability to create a consensus.

He is also considered an astute reader and player of internal politics, demonstrated by his projection during the current crisis as the natural successor without any apparent self-promotion.

"Some people regard him as a yes-man," said one observer. "But you have to be in M&S. He has never done anything radical, but that is not what M&S is like. The trick is to deliver, and he has done that."

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## Most admired

Rank	Company	Score
1	Tesco	27
2	Co-operative Food	26
3	Schroders	21
4	EE	10
5	SmithKline Beecham	9
6	Glaxo Wellcome	4
7	Unilever	6
8	Shell Transport & Trading	12
9	Lloyds TSB	10
10	BP	25
11	Marks & Spencer	3

Source: Management Today

**BOARDROOM** upheaval at Marks & Spencer has ejected it from the ranks of the UK's 10 most-admired companies.

M&S was third last year but has now been pushed into 11th place overall. It is still, however, the most admired company in the British retail stores category.

"Marks & Spencer has not responded to the extremely aggressive competition from other sectors," said Arthur Bird, senior European vice-president of TSC-Technology Solutions Company, which sponsored the survey.

The Management Today survey was conducted by business schools in Nottingham, Derby and Aston.

## BT helps guard prison phones

Nicholas Bamister, Chief Business Correspondent

**P**RISON authorities are to keep closer tabs on inmates' phone conversations — preventing calls to victims and drug dealers — through a system to be installed by British Telecom.

BT is to put more than 2,500 of the phones in the residential wings of 132 prisons in England and Wales over the next 18 months. It expects them to generate £100 million revenue over 10 years, even after commission on the calls is paid to the Prison Service.

The phones, operated by smartcards with personal

identification numbers, will allow a prisoner to make calls only to numbers approved by the prison authorities.

People with touch-tone phones will be able to refuse to take an unwanted call from a prisoner and prevent any further such calls by entering a simple code.

The system is also expected to reduce bullying in prison. The old BT black-stripe phone cards have become one of the main unofficial prison currencies after tobacco. But there is little point in securing one of the new smartcards by strong-arm tactics because it can be used only to call the legitimate owner's approved numbers.

## TOURIST RATES — BANK SELLS

Australia 2.484	Germany 2.751	Malaysia 6.31	Singapore 2.72
Austria 19.27	Greece 456.02	Malta 0.811	South Africa 9.08
Belgium 56.68	Hong Kong 12.43	Netherlands 4.994	Spain 225.02
Canada 2.48	India 70.50	New Zealand 2.583	Sweden 13.25
Cyprus 0.959	Ireland 1.098	Norway 12.17	Switzerland 2.776
Denmark 10.51	Israel 6.38	Portugal 278.65	Turkey 474.770
Finland 8.38	Italy 2.728	Saudi Arabia 8.33	USA 1.00
France 9.179			

Supplied by NatWest (excluding rupee, shilling and dollar)



## Virgin Atlantic spreads wings

## Branson to recruit 1,500

Keith Harper  
Transport Editor

**R**ICHARD Branson's Virgin airline empire is planning to recruit 1,500 staff between now and spring 2000 to support further growth in the business and Virgin's travel group.

Unveiling Virgin Atlantic's new range of uniforms yesterday, Mr Branson said about 1,000 cabin crew positions would be filled along with 100 additional flight deck staff.

Mr Branson said the company had doubled over the past four years, and extra staff would be needed for proposed routes such as Shanghai and Moscow. "There will be opportunities for pilots, cabin crew, ground crew, airport staff and others in telephone reservations and administration."

Virgin's fleet of aircraft has been expanded from 20 at the beginning of this year to 24 today. A further five Boeing 747s will be delivered by April 2000 and more Airbus A320s will be deployed on Virgin Sun and new medium-haul routes.

Mr Branson also announced plans to upgrade the Upper Class service to be in direct competition with first-class facilities offered by other airlines.

Virgin's recruitment comes at a time when the airline industry says it does not expect to be knocked off course by

the world recession. The demand for travel is still growing at 5 per cent a year. Bookings to the United States and Europe are rising. British Airways, like Virgin, plans to recruit staff by 2000.

Mr Branson said Virgin's expansion plans were not bucking economic trends. "They are based on the consistent year-on-year increases in traffic achieved by Virgin through high-quality service and good-value prices. What we've always improved quality and reduced fares."

The Virgin travel group is easily the most profitable part of the Virgin empire. It employs 6,400 staff, of whom 5,750 work at Virgin Atlantic's Crawley headquarters. Most of the rest work at Heathrow and Gatwick.

Mr Branson is awaiting the outcome of a Civil Aviation Authority decision on new routes to Moscow and Shanghai. He is competing with BA for rights to the Shanghai route, and British Midland has lodged an appeal to the Government over a CAA decision to give the Moscow route to Virgin. Both decisions will be known before the end of the year.

Mr Branson said that the 23 million uniform overhaul was the result of a three-year project and would be introduced for 5,000 staff across the company worldwide from April next year. Highlights of the range include a new female cabin crew uniform, which builds on the traditional Virgin red, and three-piece, finely cut charcoal grey suits for male crew.



Richard Branson yesterday announced new jobs on his airlines and denounced BA's purchase of CityFlyer

PHOTOGRAPH: DAVID MANSFIELD

## BA purchase of CityFlyer gives it 42pc of Gatwick slots

**B**ITISH Airways bought to consolidate its position at Gatwick yesterday with the purchase of its franchise partner CityFlyer Express for £75 million, writes Mark Atkinson. The acquisition

from a group of investors led by 3i Group will give BA 42 per cent of the take-off and landing slots at the airport.

It provoked an immediate protest from Richard Branson, chairman of the Virgin

Group, which owns Virgin Atlantic Airways and low-cost carrier Virgin Express.

"We said we would like to buy it," he said. "This deal will give BA complete dominance of Gatwick." Virgin

will raise the issue with the Office of Fair Trading.

CityFlyer, a BA franchise partner for five years, has 643 slots a week at Gatwick. BA has 1,648. CityFlyer carries 1.5 million passengers a year.

"The move will help to maintain Gatwick's position as one of Europe's leading airports," BA said. "The purchase will [also] allow the two airlines to integrate more fully their networks and schedules."

## News in brief

## Sainsbury acquires US chain

**SAINSBURY** secured another foothold in the American food retailing market yesterday, paying £294 million for the New England supermarket chain Star markets.

Star runs 33 supermarkets in the Greater Boston area, close to the home territory of Sainsbury's US chain, Shaw's supermarkets.

Investors were unconvinced by the move. Sainsbury's shares slid 13p after the announcement, finishing the day at 515p.

The company's commitment to the US market was thrown into doubt earlier this year when it sold its stake in the Giant Foods chain for £370 million. — *Charlotte Denny*

## £262m beer bid rejected

**WOLVERHAMPTON** & Dudley, brewer of Banks' beer, revealed terms of its bid for Marston, Thompson & Evershed, and admitted it would entail 250 job losses at its Burton on Trent rival. Marston described W&D's £262 million offer as "wholly inadequate".

Marston has already announced 90 job losses, enabling the new management to return £60 million to shareholders. W&D reported pre-tax profits up 4.7 per cent to £45 million. — *Jill Treanor*

## EU examines plane pricing

**THE** European Commission is looking into whether Airbus and Boeing are setting aircraft prices jointly, after the two companies made similar increases.

The EU's competition commissioner, Karel Van Miert, said EU anti-trust officials were studying responses received from the two companies to questions posed by the commission in September after the manufacturers announced higher prices during the Farnborough air show. — *Julie Wolf in Brussels*

## Rout hits 3i share values

**THE** stock market rout in the third quarter wiped 10 per cent off the net asset value of the investments made by 3i, the venture capitalist group, in the six months to September. Despite the fall to 525p per share from 582p, 3i's investments still outperformed the FTSE SmallCap Index which fell by 23.6 per cent.

During the six months, 3i invested £448.5 million in 387 businesses but also sold its stake in many private companies because it believed their valuations had reached a high. — *Jill Treanor*

## Enron raises its UK stake

**ENRON**, the US energy group buying Wessex Water for £1.4 billion, is expanding its UK presence through the £300 million acquisition of Teesside Utilities from Imperial Chemical Industries. Teesside Utilities supplies steam, power and a range of other services to companies including DuPont, BP Chemicals and Union Carbide. ICI decided to sell the Teesside business because it no longer fitted in with the group's core specialty chemicals operations. — *Nicholas Bannister*

## Leaseholders offered exit from extortionate contracts

Liz Stuart

**L**EASEHOLDERS will be able to buy the freehold of their property more easily, and extortionate service charges will be outlawed if proposals in a consultation document on leasehold reform issued by the Government yesterday become law.

But campaigners fighting to overthrow the leasehold regulations — which they liken to feudal laws — last night condemned the paper for being insufficiently radical.

They say it fails to tackle the issue of "marriage value" — where leaseholders buying the freehold are forced to pay a punitive sum because once their property is owned on a

freehold basis its resale value is increased.

In spite of reforms over the past 30 years, leasehold law is widely criticised for being unfair, leaving people little control over their property. The freeholder or agent has a monopoly over services and maintenance, but the leaseholder has to pay.

Housing minister Hilary

Armstrong said at the paper's launch: "We are committed to sustainable home ownership."

We want to provide leaseholders with the security and control other homeowners enjoy," said Barry Gardiner, MP for Brent North and chairman of the all-party parliamentary group on leasehold reform, said: "While the hugely unjust marriage value

continues to exist, leaseholders cannot buy their freehold on a fair basis."

In one case, a widow from London with only 17 years left on her lease was told she would need to pay £380,000 as marriage value if she wanted to buy the freehold on her property, the value of which was £280.

However, the proposal to

introduce controls over unscrupulous managing agents, who can rake up to 20 per cent in commission from building

insurers, levy excessive service charges or instruct incompetent builders to carry out repairs which the leaseholders then have to pay for, was welcomed.

So too was the suggestion that leaseholders be granted

the automatic right to manage their own property.

The paper also suggests a review of the way leasehold valuation tribunals work. The proposals will not, however, become law until summer 2000 at the earliest. There are around 900,000 leaseholders in houses and more than a million in flats in England and Wales.

## OFT gets tough — politely

**Trust-busters** will mount dawn raids at 9am, says David Gow

**T**HEY will be a new elite flying squad of 16 tough and highly motivated officers with powers to mount dawn raids on suspect business premises and seize documents that could ultimately lead firms to pay fines of up to 10 per cent of their annual turnover: this is the upgraded branch of the Office of Fair Trading.

But, this being Britain, the OFT hit-squad will be more gentlemanly than its American or German counterparts who turn up, often accompa-

nied by TV crews and police troopers, at companies believed to be involved in price-fixing and market-rigging. For starters, they are unlikely to be there much before 9am.

The OFT squad will be trained by Customs & Excise investigators, old hands at detecting deceitful and unscrupulous behaviour, and will normally be economics or law graduates who have served as what the Civil Service calls higher executive officers.

Their numbers will be swollen over the next 15 months by new recruits, paid for out of the extra £15.4 million over three years given by the Treasury to the OFT to implement the new Competition Act which comes into full effect on March 1, 2000.

But John Bridgeman, director-general of fair trading,

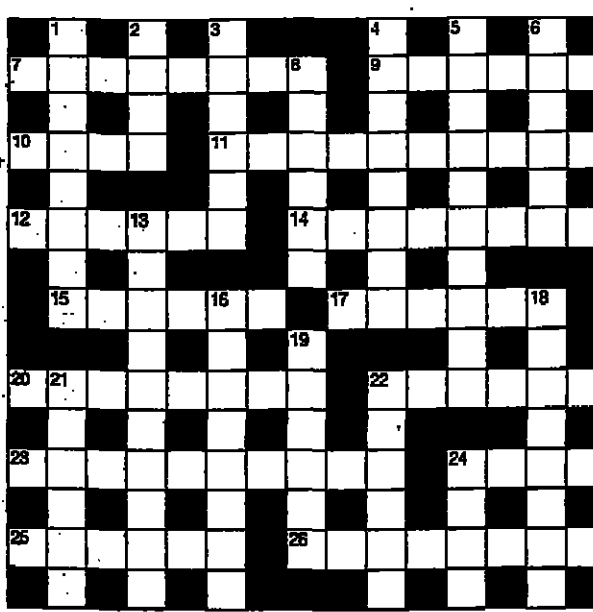
and senior OFT officials made plain yesterday that they will be expected to be polite when they enter premises. Investigators will talk nicely to receptionists and switchboard operators, and, unlike in the US and in continental Europe, they will take copies of documents, rather than originals.

Indeed, the OFT expects the bulk of companies to co-operate rather than try to obstruct its officers, because they face swinging fines and ultimately criminal prosecution.

Only rarely do they imagine the beefed-up squad using "reasonable force" to enter premises and take documents when armed with a warrant. But Mr Bridgeman said: "We are going to root out cartels; their days are numbered."

## Guardian Crossword No 21,443

Set by Chifonie

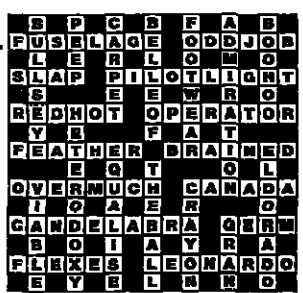


## Across

- 7 Beer in black package is fit for trade (9)
- 9 Planes crashed in Italy (5)
- 10 Island accepts director's introduction and entrance of mine (4)
- 11 Charlatans gets money for a fivefold (5,5)
- 12 Beyond the embankment child finds fruit (5)

## Down

- 1 Bird is to settle on perch (4,4)
- 2 Shelter Oriental caught in explosive situation (4)
- 3 Soot-toured unhealthy African city (5)
- 4 Narrowly getting exclusive that's deserved (4,4)
- 5 Carry off in a manner to lift the soul (5,4)
- 6 The city is overcome by loathing for goddess (5)
- 8 Puzzle solved in game (6)
- 13 Work of fiction in which politician keeps trousers on (5,5)
- 16 Showing disrespect in the waterway (5)
- 18 Execute or catch the epitome of death (5)
- 19 Progressing in hospital (5)
- 21 Marina crazy for "raffish" type? (6)
- 22 Tomboy's island retreat (5)
- 24 Jetty in a beauty spot (4)



CROSSWORD SOLUTION 21,442

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## Art of war

## Lost Poussin the star of Rome exhibition

Poussin's  
The Sack  
of the Temple  
and, far right,  
Narcissus



The Sack of the Temple is fourth work by the master to be discovered by British expert

Philip Willen  
in Rome

**A** LOST early masterpiece by the French painter Nicolas Poussin is the highlight of an exhibition which opened yesterday in Rome's Palazzo delle Esposizioni. The Sack of the Temple at Jerusalem by Titus was acquired by Cardinal Francesco Barberini, a nephew of Pope Urban VIII, in 1626 but disappeared from sight in the 18th century. It was spotted at a Sotheby's sale three years ago by Sir Denis Mahon, an art historian and the foremost authority on Poussin.

The painting had been wrongly identified as The Sack of Carthage by the minor Italian painter Pietro Testa and was expected to fetch between £10,000 and £15,000. It was bought by the London gallery Ha. Mit. Gooden and Fox for £155,500 and is now valued at £5 million. In an article for *Quadri e Sculture* (Paintings and Sculptures), Italy's leading art magazine, Sir Denis said the painting was of the greatest importance because "it constituted Poussin's first breakthrough into Roman patronage at the highest level". The Sack of the Temple at Jerusalem by Titus is the greatest of four lost early Poussins recently discovered by Sir Denis, and the only one that will be on show at the Rome exhibition of works painted in the city by Poussin during his stay in the 1620s. The other three — a Landscape with Competition between Apollo and Marsia, The Fall of the Giants and a Narcissus — are now all privately owned, the last bought at auction by an American collector last year.

"The revelation of the existence of four Poussins of this importance has never occurred before," a spokesman for *Quadri e Sculture* said. "The discovery represents a 10 per cent increase in the known early works of the master." Sir Denis was able to discard Carthage as the location for the sack of the temple on the basis of the mosaic, the seven-pointed Jewish candelabrum, held aloft by one of the looters in the centre of the painting. He also recalled the existence of a receipt for the authentic Poussin work signed by an official of the Barberini household on January 28, 1626.

"If the painting is authenticated by Sir Denis there can be no doubt that it is genuine," the *Quadri e Sculture* spokesman said. In his article for the magazine, Sir Denis described how the successful sale of The Sack of the Temple, which earned Poussin 81 scudi, lifted the artist out of a long period of penury and ill health. The painting's subsequent passage into the ownership of Cardinal de Richelieu and then into the collection of the French statesman's niece, the Duchesse d'Alençon, helped Poussin to break into the art market of his homeland.

"Not only did the Sack of the Temple bear witness to the fact that Poussin had attracted patronage at the highest level in Rome... but in 1634 its arrival in France brought the existence of a by now leading French artist working in Rome to the attention of Richelieu, and very soon led to the acquisition of further paintings by Poussin," he wrote. The Rome exhibition, which Sir Denis helped to organise, traces the influence of Poussin's early years in Rome to his artistic development. The theme is illustrated with 41 works from museums around the world and runs until the end of February.



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## Dallaglio on Australian

Coaching  
Australia have gone through a period of re-building. Rod Macqueen came in the last year but he'd already established himself as an experienced and knowledgeable coach. He's a coach who's a coach and coach's coach. He's a coach who's a coach and coach's coach.

Defence  
The Tri-Nations has returned to the Test level. In the past we've seen some wonderful tries - there were a few in the year's tournament - but opportunities were rare. In the Tri-Nations we've seen some wonderful tries - there were a few in the year's tournament - but opportunities were rare.

Experience  
John Eales (below) seems to have been around for an eternity. He's been around for an eternity. He's been around for an eternity. He's been around for an eternity.

Intensity  
To be brutally honest, they don't really have any weaknesses. The intense rugby they play in the Super 12 is a lot closer to Test level. In the Super 12, the intensity is a lot closer to Test level.

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# New lock a key to unlocking Aussies

## Robert Armstrong on the England captain's endorsement of Tim Rodber

THE ROBBERS move into the second row will be a major asset against Australia at Twickenham tomorrow, his England captain claimed.

Lavender Rodber, 24, has been named as the new lock for England. He has played for the Northern Ireland province and has been a member of the England squad since 1995. He is a powerful player and is expected to be a key player in the England back row.

England captain Robert Armstrong said: "Tim is a very experienced player and he has been a member of the England squad since 1995. He is a powerful player and is expected to be a key player in the England back row."

# Howley faces knee surgery

## Paul Jones

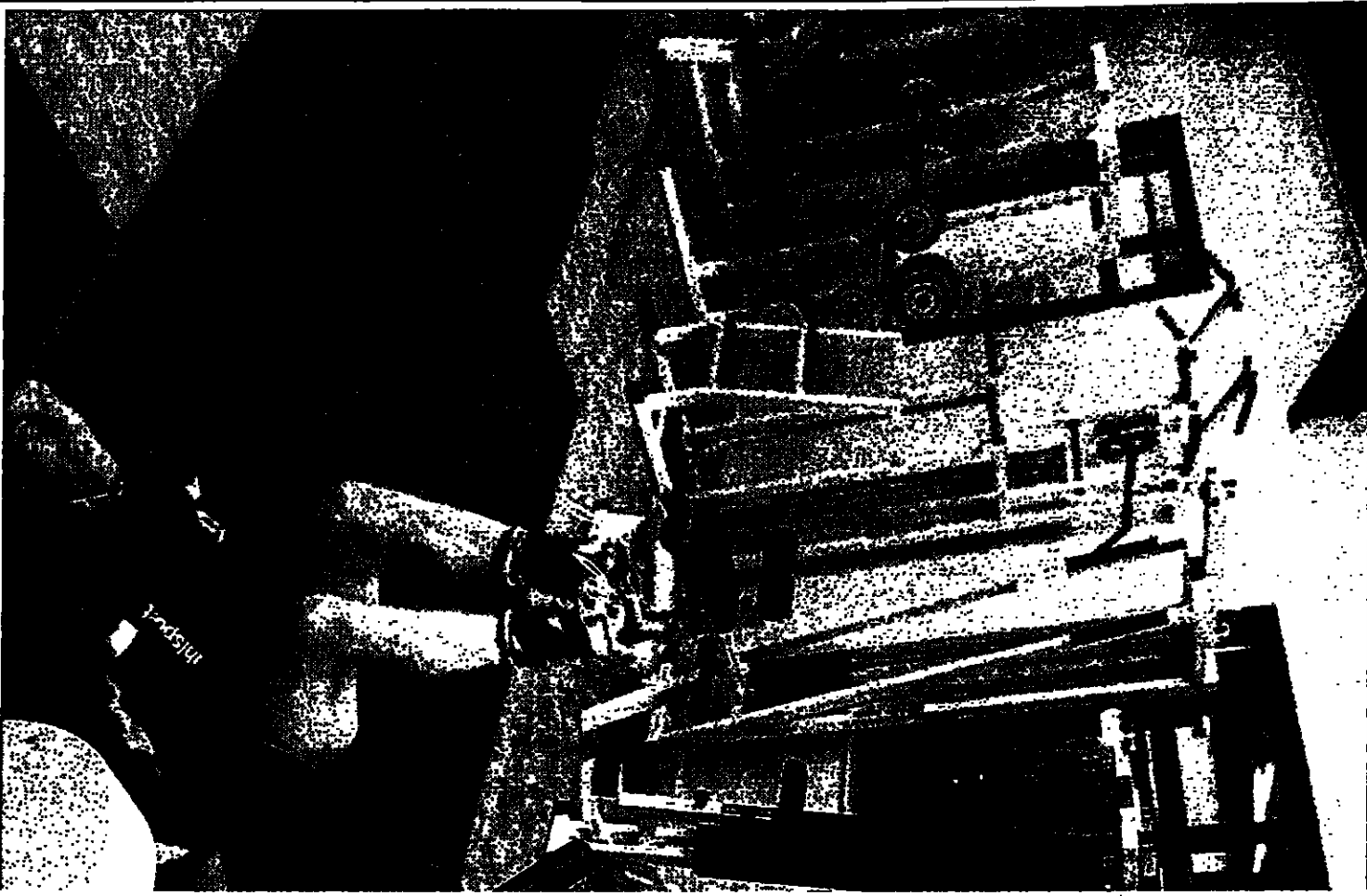
THE Wales captain Rob Howley will be out for at least a month because he needs surgery on the knee he injured playing in the international against Argentina last Saturday.

Howley, 24, is a powerful player and is expected to be a key player in the Wales back row. He has played for the Wales province and has been a member of the Wales squad since 1995.

# International duo give Scotland a hand-off

THE Scottish game eased its international woes yesterday as the Scotland duo of James Hastings and Johnnie Johnston gave Scotland a hand-off in the first half of the match against England.

Hastings, 24, is a powerful player and is expected to be a key player in the Scotland back row. Johnston, 24, is a powerful player and is expected to be a key player in the Scotland back row.



# Tony Parkes slides back into the Blackburn hot-seat for a fourth time this weekend.

## Daniel Taylor reports

FOR someone worth an estimated £800 million, Jack Walker is surprisingly keen to return to the hot-seat of Blackburn Rovers.

Walker, 48, has been in and out of the Blackburn hot-seat several times in his career. He is a powerful player and is expected to be a key player in the Blackburn back row.

# Keep in step with Bold Gait

Non Cox expects James Farnshaw to receive an eye-of-Hennessy boost at Newbury

The Guardian Friday November 27 1998

EWAN, the stonemason of some of the most powerful land, is musing in on the jumping front thanks to two highly promising prospects trained by James Farnshaw.

The Thoroughbred has emerged as a leading contender for the 1999 Hennessy Gold Cup. Farnshaw, 48, is a powerful player and is expected to be a key player in the Thoroughbred back row.

# Races without whips planned

Ken Oliver

THE RSPCA have welcomed the Jockey Club's plan to introduce a series of "whipless" races next year. The two trials will allow whips to be used for steering but not used to strike a horse.

Bernard Donaghy, equine consultant to the RSPCA, is a powerful player and is expected to be a key player in the RSPCA back row.

# Sport in brief

**Olympic Games**

Sydney Games officials tried to find a way to avoid the highly contentious issue of the Olympic Games being held in Sydney.

**Ice Hockey**

The Canadian Ice Hockey team has been suspended by the British National League until January 11, until the British National League has agreed to a new contract.



## Leading contenders for the job


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**Cardlan**  **INTERACTIVE**

everyone is trying to catch," Parkes concedes. "That's a strange position for anyone to be in but I've become accus-

not be able to accept a new manager being told he has to include me in his plans."

go for the job on a full-time basis. If it didn't work out straight away, the club wouldn't be in a much harder position.

anks as his finest achievement, guiding the club away from the threat of relegation to the following season.

**"People would be saying it was a mistake to appoint from within and that would be a mistake."**

...realistic enough to acknowledge he may be living on borrowed time. The sight of Hodgson leaving Ewood Park

mlership and times have changed. Blackburn will be looking for someone with a higher profile to bring players

more than fortunate" to have  
 as long as he has.  
 "I have always made it clear  
 the club that, if a new man-


round and sold 'Yes, I do want this job'. I've had good results in the past and hopefully I will get another decent run but

I'm certain he will be making substantial funds available to the new fundraiser and whoever comes in will have that advantage. Of course it would be an emotional wrench but I would suspect that decision. I would

"We are talking here about a top coach who has been manager of Inter Milan, but

**at**

25 Oct 1996 -  
2 Jul 1997



John J. O'Connell is a man of many talents. He's in the game for the right reasons but he's not always the cuddly uncle type. He's a businessman and anyone who

One of five children, Parkes

W D L  
9 11 8

and left school at 15. For five years he worked as a wall and

League games  
sions and he has been doing  
that for 40 years."







Vital Screen

**JUST OUT**  
**Out of Sight**  
\*\*\*1/2  
Dir: Steven Soderbergh. With George Clooney, Jennifer Lopez, Ving Rhames. Cert 15, 123 minutes.  
**The Negotiator**  
\*\*\*  
Dir: F. Gary Gray. With Samuel L. Jackson, Kevin Spacey, JT Walsh. Cert 15, 140 minutes.

**The Slums of Beverly Hills**  
\*\*\*  
Dir: Tamara Jenkins. With Alan Arkin, Natasha Lyonne, Kevin Corrigan. Cert 15, 81 minutes.

**Victory**  
\*1/2  
Dir: Mark Peploe. With Willem Dafoe, Irene Jacob, Sam Nilli. Cert 15, 88 minutes.

**The Wisdom Of The Creeds**  
\*\*  
Dir: Po-Chih Leong. With Jude Law, Elna Lowensohn, Timothy Spall. Cert 15, 105 minutes.

**Only**  
\*\*\*  
Dir: Maria Ripoll. With Douglas Henshall, Lena Headey, Penelope Cruz. Cert 15, 103 minutes.  
**The Philadelphia Story**  
\*\*\*\*  
Dir: George Cukor. With Cary Grant, Katharine Hepburn, James Stewart. Cert U, 112 minutes

**CRITIC'S CHOICE**  
**1. Out of Sight**  
George Clooney and Jennifer Lopez cut to the chase in Soderbergh's fast, funny, sexy film-noir treasure.  
**2. Henry Fool**  
Hal Hartley's underpraised return to form: a cool and loquacious shaggy-dog story about a lowly garbageman who pines a masterpiece.

**3. My Name Is Joe**  
Peter Mullan's full-throttle performance powers Louchie's tough, true drama from Glasgow's DSS landscape.

**4. The Philadelphia Story**  
Hepburn, Grant and Stewart trade barbed wit in Cukor's re-issued 1940 comedy. Welcome it in like a long-lost friend.

**5. Antz**  
Surely the strangest Woody Allen movie you'll ever witness: a clever, animated hybrid of Disney's The Lion King and Fritz Lang's Metropolis.

\*\*\*\* Unbearable \*\*\*\* Breathtaking  
\*\*\* Enjoyable \*\* Mediocre \* Terrible

Get the British angle on European affairs  
The Guardian

Soderbergh finally turns up trumps — this time in the trunk, says **Xan Brooks**

# Real booty



**OUT OF SIGHT**  
George Clooney (George Clooney) and Jennifer Lopez (Jennifer Lopez) get acquainted during a late-night chat. The scene could be taking place in that comfortable hell after good sex. There they are, nestled like spoons in the gloom. Jack has his hand on her thigh. The conversation is gentle, meandering. Except that Foley is an escaped bank robber and Sisco the US Marshal he's taken hostage. The pair are lying in the trunk of a speeding getaway vehicle, brake-lights sporadically illuminating its cramped interior. When Foley gets out, Sisco promptly unloads her 38 through the closed boot after him.

True romance, film-noir style. Out of Sight is full of such moments, such loopy scenarios, such riffs on the familiar. In steering its own idiosyncratic course, it conspires to be a heist thriller; a buddy-movie; a love-story; whatever it wants to be. Let's get the hyperbole out of the way first. Out of Sight is the best movie Jennifer Lopez has ever made, the best movie George Clooney has ever made, the best movie Steven Soderbergh has ever made. Out of Sight is so good it gives you goosebumps.

Culled from a book by Elmore Leonard, Soderbergh's film arrives with two obvious precedents in Get Shorty and Jackie Brown. So how does Soderbergh play Leonard? Does he go the Get Shorty route and style it as a brisk farce, or follow the Tarantino line of melancholic urban realism?

True to form, Soderbergh, a famously wayward talent, does neither. Instead dreaming up a hip, romantic thriller that seems to be touched by the ghosts of It Happened One Night and North By Northwest. The film is produced by the same stable as Get Shorty, and hands out genial caresses to Jackie Brown stars Michael Keaton and Samuel Jackson, but it has a life that is all its own.

The film's nominal plodding revolves around a diamond heist. Foley, a career criminal, breaks out of prison and — alongside regular cohort, Buddy Bragg (Ving Rhames) and succeed-out cowboy-jacker Glenn Michaels (Steve Zahn) — hatches a scheme to tip off Albert Brooks's wig-wearing millionaire, Paulie Slocum Miller (Don Cheadle) into the den, the feds are hot on their trail and the safe turns out to contain toupees. All of which makes for spy-diver-tine stuff.

And yet the deeper we delve into Soderbergh's yarn, the more we realise that this diamond robbery is a secular stand-in for a spiritual quest. The real story unfolds it of that early car-bomb scene and it is the awkward, undeniable attraction between Sisco and Foley, between cop and robber, hunter and hunted. The whole thing's so carry it verges on the embarrassing, so exquisitely rendered you can't help but be swept along. The key is in the handling.

## Obsession... Clooney and Lopez get it together in a car-boot clinch

Soderbergh's direction dances off Frank. It dovetails into numerous fishbacks and fits together a cool jigsaw of rewinds, freeze-frames and zooms. Yet this is no cerebral exercise. Out of Sight is funny, human and romantic as anything hell. When hero and heroine finally get it together in a high-rise hotel bar, Foley appears in reflection against the window where snowflakes flutter against a fairy-tale cityscape. From here Soderbergh interviews Foley and Sisco's dialogue with the following scene (the pair undressing in an adjacent

hotel room) in a teasing echo of the famous love-making sequence from Nic Roeg's Don't Look Now. Soderbergh's genius, then, is that for all his film-boof trickiness his playing with the form, he manages to keep Out of Sight inclusive and accessible. More shrewdly, he offers its lead actor the sort of fascinating showcase that last year's Human And Robin should have provided but so completely didn't. Right from the off, Clooney is smiling, his lips curled and greying, more like Irish than he ever looked in ER. Playing the scoundrel Foley, he is Cary Grant-savvy, with the same wry insouciance, the same effortless, unknowing charm.

Moreover, his ease seems to permeate through the entire cast, with a rattle-bag of support in Cheadle, Rhames and Brooks. Or take Lopez, an actress previously confined to underwritten eye-candy roles in films such as Blood And Wine and Money Train. Frank's script runs the risk of over-playing Sisco's feisty, gun-toting nature,

**It's so corny it's embarrassing, so exquisitely rendered you can't help but be swept along**

Photograph by Armando Gallo/Retna Limited

# The prime of Ms Meryl Streep

By Claire Armitstead



Movie tie-ins 4 | Alan Resnais 5 | Small town fireworks 6 | The unmissable Messiahs 7 | New films 8

سكزا من الاموال





# Music



Dogg day  
afternoon...  
rapper Snooty  
Dogg is bound  
to cause  
mayhem  
wherever he  
goes, and his  
recent gig at  
Suburbans was  
no exception.  
The shocking  
news this time  
is that no shots  
were fired.  
Bogus radio  
reports  
claimed that  
someone did  
shoot at the  
Dogg star, but  
in fact he just  
left the stage  
in a fit of pique  
because one of  
the crowd was  
heckling him.  
Perhaps they  
were calling  
him a Dogg.  
Poor thing.  
Anyway, why  
is the man  
reduced to  
playing such  
shamefully  
small venues  
these days?  
The suspicion  
is that Dogg is  
not as huge as  
he once was,  
being now  
more of a little  
harmless little  
dashed...

# Small town fireworks

Three parts honey, two parts bourbon — the road-movie songs of folk-rocker Lucinda Williams have been hugely influential over the past 20 years, and a new album might even spell mainstream success. Tom Cox hears how she stuck to her guns

Lucinda Williams glances up from her coffee. "Hi. Pleased to meet you," she draws in an intoxicating, melodramatic, throaty drawl. "This is Richard." Richard is a leather jacket, baseball cap, shoulders, two days' worth of stubble — is the rugged, slant, protective type, a useful guy to have on your side during macho physical pursuits. I've never seen him before in my life, but I recognise him immediately from a Lucinda Williams song (The Night's Two Long, from 1989). "I could impress you with my knowledge — I know you're the guy with the leather jacket who likes his living town and snogs Sylvia, the small-town waitress, aren't you?" — or I could conduct the rest of the interview with my nose in one place. Not wishing to push my luck, I decide on the nose.

I'm fortunate to be here in the first place, after all. Lucinda Williams, who is currently America's greatest female songwriter and folk-rock's biggest enigma, has been interviewed almost as frequently as she makes her albums (she's recorded just five LPs in 20 years, one of them — 1978's Ramblin' On My Mind — all cover versions). A little bit of southern-fried blues, a little bit of protest-folk, a little bit of bad-girl rock'n'roll, she is Nanci Griffith with boxing gloves, Jean Baus with a motorcycle and Sheryl Crow with an image consultant, all at the same time. Yet throughout her career, Williams has had a habit of disappearing into lengthy exile just as her music threatens to reach a wider audience, allowing colleagues like Crow or Jewel to step in and make a quick buck from a watershed version of the Williams sound.

Preparing to meet her, I talk to various sources within the music industry who've heard that she's "shy", "difficult" and "suspicious" — which seems odd, because on her records she comes across as open, sweet and honest. Replace "difficult" with "small" and "shy" with "in the bar of a Kensington hotel, accompanied by a bus-playing boy" and Richard Price — she's a bit of all six.

Her songs often feature assertive women who transcend their parochial surroundings, who are determined to fulfil their potential. "I'll shut it out to the night: Give me what I deserve, cause it's my right, against all the odds." There's Sylvia Two Waitresses, in The Night's Too Long, determined to get what she wants: "or the vessel born of rivers, Joy, who intends to retrieve her joy" (whatever that is). No matter how hard she has to look, Williams's songs are primed to galvanise women stuck in insignificant lives while simultaneously dragging out a hidden Homer Simpson all over the Southern United States. What sort of feed-

back does she get from female fans? "Oh, I get lots of letters saying, 'Go girl, you're out there, sticking to your guns.' But being a role model isn't something I think about a lot, it's just part of my nature. I've always been a rebel." Do you perceive yourself as a tough character? "I think the way I present myself in my music is, kind of, a real sensitive... probably over-sensitive. I'm basically a strong person, but I do have trouble asserting myself some of the time, which is why I sometimes butt heads in the studio."

Car Wheels On A Gravel Road, Williams's fifth album, is a nineties new-country masterpiece that took three years and three different producers to make (Williams was striving for a rawer sound after 1982's somewhat saccharine Sweet Old World LP). Although Sweet Old World is a back of a van during a week-long tour of the American South, there are 14 towns spread through Williams's most colourful album yet, accompanied by a constant sense of motion, and a friendly radio song (No. 22, Top Hank LPs in 20 years, one of them — 1978's Ramblin' On My Mind — all cover versions). A little bit of southern-fried blues, a little bit of protest-folk, a little bit of bad-girl rock'n'roll, she is Nanci Griffith with boxing gloves, Jean Baus with a motorcycle and Sheryl Crow with an image consultant, all at the same time. Yet throughout her career, Williams has had a habit of disappearing into lengthy exile just as her music threatens to reach a wider audience, allowing colleagues like Crow or Jewel to step in and make a quick buck from a watershed version of the Williams sound.

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Altered Images  
... Lucinda Williams on stage in 1989  
Frightful, and below left, as she is today.  
I'm kind of shy, real sensitive.  
I'm basically a strong person, but I do have trouble asserting myself some of the time'

father's heroine, Flannery O'Connor, and writing The Great Southern Novel. "I was a very imaginative child, always writing, always watching. I grew up with storytellers." Through her dad, poet Miller Williams, she met the likes of O'Connor, Charles Bukowski and Allen Ginsberg. By the time she was in her late teens, Williams wanted to be Joan Baez and hang out with "thinkers". As her friends fled the South for the glamour of Los Angeles, Williams followed, but always felt the tug of her homeland. Instead of leaving the south behind, she went back and confronted it head-on.

"You always feel a little bit like the underdog coming from the South," she says. "There's the whole stigma, the stereotypes, and the more you go against them, the stronger you get. I think this album is me learning to embrace my Southernness. It's a very rich breeding ground. Most of the music you're familiar with started there, if not all of it."

As a gesture of defiance, she had to put up a fight to become a great artist, weathering over a decade without a record contract. Her voice — once described as "these parts honey, two parts bourbon" — tells stories of tragic, self-destructive friends, heart-up cars and restless lives from the bar at the end of the highway. The line track "Car Wheels On A Gravel Road" — "a little bit of dirt mixed with tears" — says it all.

Kisses, for which both Williams and Carpenter won Grammys). When she was introduced at a gig in Nashville as "The woman who wrote The Locks for Tom Petty", she clamped the compère's arm, steered him to one side and corrected him: "I didn't write it for him, I wrote it for me."

Forget girl power; this is woman power — the kind that drinks the boys under the table, burps, then finishes them off in an arm-wrestling contest. It shouldn't seem surprising, but it does because of the dearth of strong female role models in mainstream music at the moment, a drought that Williams blames on "the emphasis the music business puts on instant gratification. A lot of women songwriters simply haven't paid their dues in the same way that people like Joan Baez, Buffy Sainte-Marie, and Judy Collins did: they haven't had to take the same risks."

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Lucinda Williams appears on later with Lucinda Williams and Tom Cox. Her new album, Car Wheels On A Gravel Road, is available on Mercury Records. On My Mind and Happy Woman Blues have been released on Folkways Records.



Ensemble piece... In Dancin' At Lughnasa with Kathy Burke in Kramer's Kramer (left) and with husband Don Gummer (below)

sympathetically regarded in the American press, but at least she got to say who she was.

Strep has come to personify a particular kind of intelligent woman — about as far removed from your average Hollywood air-head as anyone on the wrong side of a movie camera. In the late seventies, she took centre-stage in one of the decade's big love stories as she nursed her boyfriend — the actor John Cazale — through bone cancer. But she let it be known she wasn't any old saint when he was diagnosed, it wasn't to healing manuals that they looked but to Susan Sontag's hefty essay, Illness As Metaphor. Less than a year after his death, she had moved on and married the sculptor Don Gummer — and she has remained married to him ever since.

For a while, she combined the roles of artist's wife and Hollywood mum. She laughs at the memory. The art world was all cool black suits, while the baby-scare was pure Tinseltown. "The mothers in the baby group were all stars. It was so disconcerting. I was not comfortable."

So they got the hell back to Connecticut, where their friends now are people who live within driving distance — and where she had no problem finding an Irish "fella" who could put her through her

dance steps for Lughnasa. It is, she says, "a rural area of 5,000 people — if you really walk far away from the centre of town, you can find that many people. And, um, no, we don't walk the red carpet every day and ride in limousines. I'm sure it's perceived as perverse, but we don't live large, mostly because actors are scared to death that they'll never work again." She describes herself as the conservative child of parents who lived through the Depression. "I've always, you know, saved my money, paid off my loans, don't live on credit."

So is this the work and work ... that's when I really set, people get me coffee and stuff."

A few years ago she made "The River Wild", an almost John Ford-like action movie with Streep the heroic mum at the oars of a career-tinged thriller in the rapids of wild America. It might not have been the world's greatest movie, but she was terrific in it, quite different from the fidgety Italian of her menopausal romance with Clint Eastwood, The Bridges Of Madison County.

Rumour has it that she made The River Wild to provide a role-model for her daughters. "It was partly true. What I wanted to do was let them see something on screen where a woman was physically brave without picking up a sub-machine gun in a preposterous way."

"It depresses me on behalf of my children because I want my son and my girls to see all kinds of people in the movies, to reflect what they see in life. The fact that after 50, women disappear from film except as proteques tells our children something. It sends a message that older women are not valuable, are not interesting."

Why, I wonder, should that be



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She gives that laugh again. "A studio executive reads a script and decides whether it personally interests him. If he has a new 25-year-old wife or girlfriend, he is not going to be interested in a story about his first wife unless he's a highly evolved person."

"It's just as if I were the head of a studio and I read three scripts in a row about an older man with a 25-year-old girlfriend. I wouldn't identify with it or be interested in it and I wouldn't probably greenlight it. I think you just have to look at the parents to understand the children. The parents are the people who pay for the movies and the children are the movies."

So would she ever take a cue from this and go into producing herself? "Not presently. I don't have time. I have too many children. I have responsibilities. There was a terrific little episode recently when she and Glenn Close approached the English director Richard Eyre to direct them in a film version of his National Theatre production of Schiller's Mary Stuart. It was all set up and then Streep backed out, putting the financial backing in jeopardy. Her excuse to Eyre was simply that her heart was no longer in it."

You can see why she would admire an English theatre director — she loves the stage, but insists she won't be following the tropes of movie actors heading for London. It's those children again. "I can't be gone every night and all weekend."

I wonder if there isn't a bit of her that regrets the films she has missed. She's reputed to have blushed "I'll tear her throat out" when Madonna pipped her to

'I work on a film a year, generally, then I go home. That's when I really work'

Evita. But what else is a woman to do? "Well," she admits, "I did well at Karate Kicks because he cast Jessica Lange in Sweet Dreams, which I'd always wanted to do, and I made him give me his house while I shot Plenty."

The theme of motherhood — gnarled and vicarious in Lughnasa, tiger-like in The River Wild — has yet another manifestation in her next movie, One True Thing, which has just opened to fine reviews in the States. In it she plays a dying woman whose career-girly daughter comes, reluctantly, home to see her out. The New York Times last week hailed it as no less than the start of a new era for the female film; the New Yorker saw it as a rebirth for Streep. "It's as if she had gone and elevated everything out — all the technical virtuosity that enabled her to change accents and blabber willy nilly, differing roles with ease ... She looks large, even after she's gone, the way mothers have done since the beginning of time."

Next year, she turns 50 and her son reaches adulthood. You might not know it from Dancin' At Lughnasa, but this could yet be the decade that the Eleanor Roosevelt of acting gets back on course. And being Eleanor Roosevelt, she's almost bound to take the world with her.



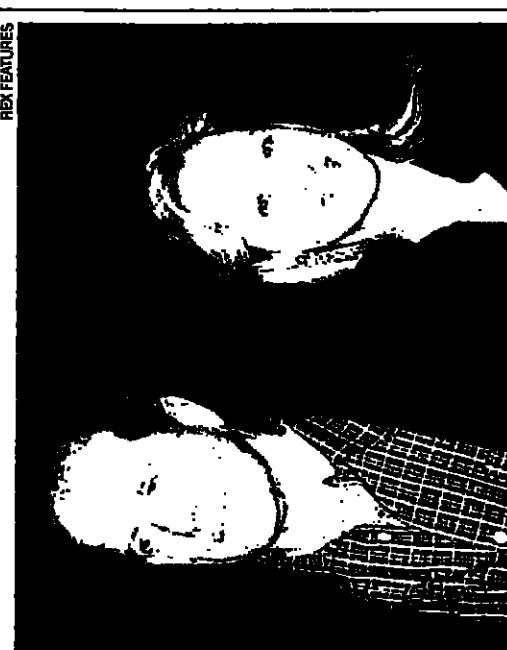
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# See the movie. Ogle the star. Buy the frock. (And you thought merchandising started with Star Wars!)

Tom Dewe Mathews  
on the long history  
of movie tie-ins

**A**t the end of May 27 next year, the movie merchandising industry will know whether it's about to go bust or burst into spectacular profits. Why is such a vast business so dependent on one single day in the history of the world? It's because March 27 is when the world will know whether George Lucas's Star Wars prequel, The Phantom Menace, has lived or died at the US box-office. And that in turn will decide whether the unprecedented billion-dollar deal between Lucasfilm and toy manufacturer Galoob Inc was worth the investment made by this global producer of cuddly droids.

But before we become enthralled by Star Wars sequels, shorts and remote-controlled robots, it's worth realising that, pervasive as these sales strategies may be, they're a pale imitation of what was perceived more than 80 years ago.

"Movie tie-ins to manufacturers were more sophisticated in the twenties and thirties," says Peter Kramer, a lecturer in film studies at the University of East Anglia. "More effort was put into the relationship between the studio looking to provide specific merchandise and the cinema-goers at the grassroots level in the community. Mass merchandising was more efficient than now because, whereas today it is only coupled to handful of specific films, in the thirties it was applied to every studio release.

The localised marketing for cinema owners was contained in "press books", in which a studio like MGM would boast about its 1934 film *Dinner at Eight*. "The merchandising of Jean Harlow was never better demonstrated than by the *Dinner at Eight* press book," says Kramer. "And to ensure local exhibitors understood how much merchandising material she, like Harlow, could carry, the book's next page had them 'The Phantom Menace' 250,000 Coca-Cola dealers will exploit *Dinner at Eight*."

Film critics complain about ubiquitous product placement in every film from Harry Potter to *Armageddon*. Now to James Bond's choice of vodka martini in his latest 007 escapade. But this sort of hi-octane merchandising is just so much wasted screen space, compared with the product tie-ins to stars during Hollywood's heyday. "Ty this one for size: MGM's autocratic



fashion film for the Joan Crawford vehicle *Lety* in 1931. First off, the studio sends out to Macy's in New York all the hats of the star wear. In her gown by the time she gets to the Lyceum Theatre, she's wearing the hat from the film. Macy's then opens her own special room for the film. The room is decorated with the dress so that it is ready in time for the film's release. MGM then sends to Macy's photographs of Crawford and that dress, emblazoned with the movie's title, the other stars, and the studio logo, as well as all the theatres where *Lety* is shown. The result is that Macy's sells half a million copies of *Lety* dresses. Two decades earlier, those figures would have been impossible to attain. As cinema outgrew its infancy, the role of movie merchandising lay in the early studio's use of locally copied costumes to add glamour to an emerging star system. But what was once an end-of-the-line side-line for a couple of fan magazines and a single Hollywood short, merchandising on a national scale would become one of the great success stories of 20th-century capitalism. Until the fifties, America was in deep recession. It was producing the goods, but its wage-poor workers couldn't afford to buy them. The country needed to turn those workers into consumers. Movie merchandising effected that change.

Warner's had million-dollar contracts with General Electric and General Motors. MGM had a tie-in to Bell phones as well as Coca-Cola. Paramount was with Westinghouse and all the studios had links to radio networks like CBS and NBC. Just as movie plots today are accused of being over-influenced by product placement, directors in the twenties and thirties were encouraged to junk historical costumes and instead — in the words of Cecil B De Mille — "shoot

modern stuff with plenty of clothes, rich sets, and action." That way, every other film could show off the latest Bell telephone, General Electric oven or Westinghouse refrigerator.

It wasn't confined to consumer durables. Marlene Dietrich advertised Glendale's slacks, mothers dressed their little girls in Macy's copies of Shirley Temple outfits, Garbo popularised the beret and trenchcoat and Barbara Stanwyck did the same for snoods. Lana Turner made sweaters big business. But for silencing retail off the screen and on to shelves, the *Phantom Menace* award for product placement had to go to Joan Crawford. "Paris may decree this and that, but when that Crawford girl puts up in puffin sleeves, it's puffin sleeves for us behind the time," huffed Silver Screen.

The stars were acutely aware of the commodity connection. One Sunday, walking down Hollywood Boulevard, MGM cameraman Joseph William Randolph heard Daphne "The couple were peering intently at a display of frocks in the window of a fashionable shop, the ladies wrote. 'She was using a camera's blue viewing glass, watching her. I know she was evaluating the frocks in the shop window — a sure way of knowing just how those dresses would photograph.

Crucially, all these products were targeted at young women because, as contemporary market surveys revealed, housewives were making up to 80 per cent of the purchase decisions for the home. During the fifties, though, the audience slowly changed from women to boys, and the studios let their new merchandising arms wider every. Also, as Kramer says, there were hard economic facts confronting the studios. "Between 70 and 80 per cent of every dollar spent at the box-office goes directly back to Hollywood. If you license a toy, it might sell for \$20, but the studio's licensing subsidiary will get back a lot less than 10 per cent. Merchandising in Hollywood's golden era was therefore done not so much to make money outside the studio, as to advertise its latest releases and get film-goers coming back week after week."

There was a very different merchandising roadblock, though, and that was for a studio to possess its own retail division. Kramer says, "Disney always had one. They licensed comic books and toys even before they made *Snow White*. Their first full-length feature in 1937. But compared with money-making machines such as MGM or Warner's, the Disney studio was a

Mickey Mouse operation until the early eighties. No, the man who created modern movie merchandising was a young film-maker aware that Warner's had fangled him out of the profits on his last film, *American Graffiti*. So when the contract with 20th Century Fox for the rights to *Star Wars* came up for negotiation in 1976, Lucas steeled himself. "If you're an executive," recalled Steven Spielberg, "suddenly you realise that if you're going to go into business with George Lucas, you are no longer in the 20th Century Fox business, you are in the George Lucas business, and George is going to call every shot." The director not only insisted control of the production would be in the hands of his own company, but Lucas also retained sole ownership of the music and soundtrack rights, as well as the copyright to any sequel. And last but not least, he won 100 per cent of any tie-ins.

Fox, says Kramer, "made one of the worst business decisions since the Native Americans sold Manhattan for a few beads." But the president Lucas probably already knew this because, within weeks of the contract being signed, he told fellow director John Milius: "I'm going to make five times as much money as Francis Coppola did with *The Godfather* on these sci-fi toys. This is a Disney movie. It cost 10 million, so we're going to get money on the releases, but I hope to make it back on the toys."

Lucas sold himself out. From a budget of \$10 million, *Star Wars* grossed \$5.5 billion. And the toys? By the end of last year the film had doubled that amount in licensing fees. "What happened in 1977," says Kramer, "was that the merchandising film industry recognised the potential to make huge profits out of products that were directly based on films they had released. It had been done before by Disney, about on a small scale, and it had been done without selling studio products. But Lucas saw that both strategies could be combined to incredible effect. From that moment on, merchandising became definitive of what Hollywood does."

Thus the proliferation of Hollywood studio shops and the like, including that of "Pain" and "Pain" (dots from Hercules) or Interactive Quinquedors (from *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*) will be knocking their doors down this Christmas. But Kramer also foresees a return to a more varied palette in merchandising's immediate future. Because, behind his innocuous revelation that "Leonardo DiCaprio refused to turn himself into a 'Titanic' toy," he believes the studio shop's loss could have a silver lining for everyone else.

Titanic's overwhelming success, he observes, "was built on the back of women's repeated attendance, particularly young girls." That message, he believes, will get through to the studio's retail arms which will not only respond with a likely return to traditional tie-ins to female products, but could also slow down the production of boys' toys and instead create toys specifically targeted for the first time at girls. "If that takes off," says Kramer, "it will change merchandising as we know it."

However, very movie-merchandising turns it as well to remember this Christmas when you're trying to find that last Mr Potato Head from *Toy Story*, that the cinema is not "a window on the world," as the old adage goes, but what it always has been — a shop window.

**my England**

Ain Resnais has made some of the great French films. So why the obsession with Britain and Dennis Potter? He talks to Ronald Bergan

I wanted to meet Alain Resnais since the early sixties. So when I heard that the great French director wasn't giving interviews I phoned the groovy, candid, my weekly biographer, Serge Elanowski and Jean Renoir. *On the Rules of the Game* is Resnais's favourite film. He was recently my biographer. He had written a book on Laurel and Hardy. It was that book which got me into his office just off the Champs-Élysées.

There he suddenly burst into song, doing a fair imitation of Maurice Chevalier. The one of the characters in his latest film, the bitter-sweet *On connaît la chanson* (The Same Old Song). Was this youthful septuagenarian the same austere intellectual figure of world cinema that so long intrigued me? He rode the crest of the French New Wave, but stood slightly apart from Jean-Luc Godard, Jacques Rivette, Claude Chabrol and François Truffaut. While they took to shooting in the streets with hand-held cameras, capturing the lives of young Parisians, the older Resnais created a careful but revolutionary concept of narrative with "flash-backs" rather than flash-forwards. His intermingled past and present. His films were the perfect illustration of T S Eliot's lines: "The present and time past are both perhaps present in time future and time future contained in time past."

They were also closely related to modernist French texts — from *Night and Day* to a searing document, *I've only a few years left...*

Alain Resnais, above, left, a scene from his classic film *Last Year at Marienbad*. Photographed by Francis Jeune for the French network.

Among some of the shortest and facts was a long-cherished dream to film the Harry Dickson detective novels, commissioning a *Baldern* novel by the writer's son, *Shirley Holmes*. I have been shot in London and New York. All Jacques' dream of going to the USA, explains Resnais. "I was once asked to make films in Hollywood, but they wanted me to stay there indefinitely. I've been very lucky up to now because all my films were made without any interference. Why has he made only 14 features in almost 40 years? "Perhaps

Why has he made so few films? Perhaps it's because I'm a little lazy!"

because I'm a little lazy, and my health hasn't been too good. I've also mostly tried to shoot original screenplays, and I've never been prepared to write the screenplay before I have a producer and they don't want to take a risk with something they haven't seen."

Nevertheless, a few years ago, he directed *Smoking/No Smoking*, based on Ayckbourn's play *Intimacy*. Resnais is an Ayckbourn fanatic, and makes an annual pilgrimage to Scarborough as "a Wagner lover goes to Bayreuth."

"I told Alain I wanted to film *Intimacy*. Relations in two parts, without letting him read the script or asking his advice. I said that when the films were complete I'd telephone him to come and see them. He allowed me to go ahead, saying 'I would be lucky to find a producer even madder than I was.'"

"Smoking/No Smoking was a catastrophe in England. Ayckbourn liked the films, but there was a strange misunderstanding. They thought that I, being a Frenchman, had no right to mock the English. In fact, I made it out of love for the English."

I say that English audiences in general are scared of French intellectualism. Resnais shakes his large, elongated head sadly, because he is hoping the English will appreciate his homage to Dennis Potter. "I regret not ever having met him. I knew the *Singing Detective* for the first time in the month he died. I felt we were very close in construction and themes. I found it bitter and tragic. I think of his later work."

In *On connaît la chanson*, I had scruples vis-à-vis Potter. I wanted to use the same procedure without doing the same thing. I respected Potter too much. I watched the 36 extracts from the songs to come out of everyday conversation, excluding any notion of fantasy. The songs, with a few exceptions, don't describe the characters' imaginary world. I wanted the songs to enter the audience without warning. If the audience, even only once or twice, could forget it was hearing a song and think that the words were dialogue, then I would be happy."

He seems surprisingly happy at the moment. This seems partly due to the new film's success — it is his biggest hit — and partly to his relationship with Sabine Aspin, the attractive brunette who has been in all his films since *La Vie d'un Roman* (Life is a Bed of Roses) in 1983. "I don't give her parts because of my relationship with her," he insists. "I've never cast anyone I didn't think right for the role. There is no link between our private life and my work with her. On set, she's like someone I don't know privately."

Despite the romantic musical-comedy surface, *On connaît la chanson* is, like most of his films, a scintillatingly dark about the difficulties of romantic relationships. And despite his seeming contentment, he can't help wondering, "I have a melancholic disposition," he says. "I've always felt a bit isolated. I think I've only got two or three years ahead of me. I don't feel I've had a proper career, and the success of my last film has made me scared about the next one. At the moment it's called *You Ain't Seen Nothing Yet*. A perfect title for the ever experimental Resnais."

On Cornelia Chanson is out next Friday.

